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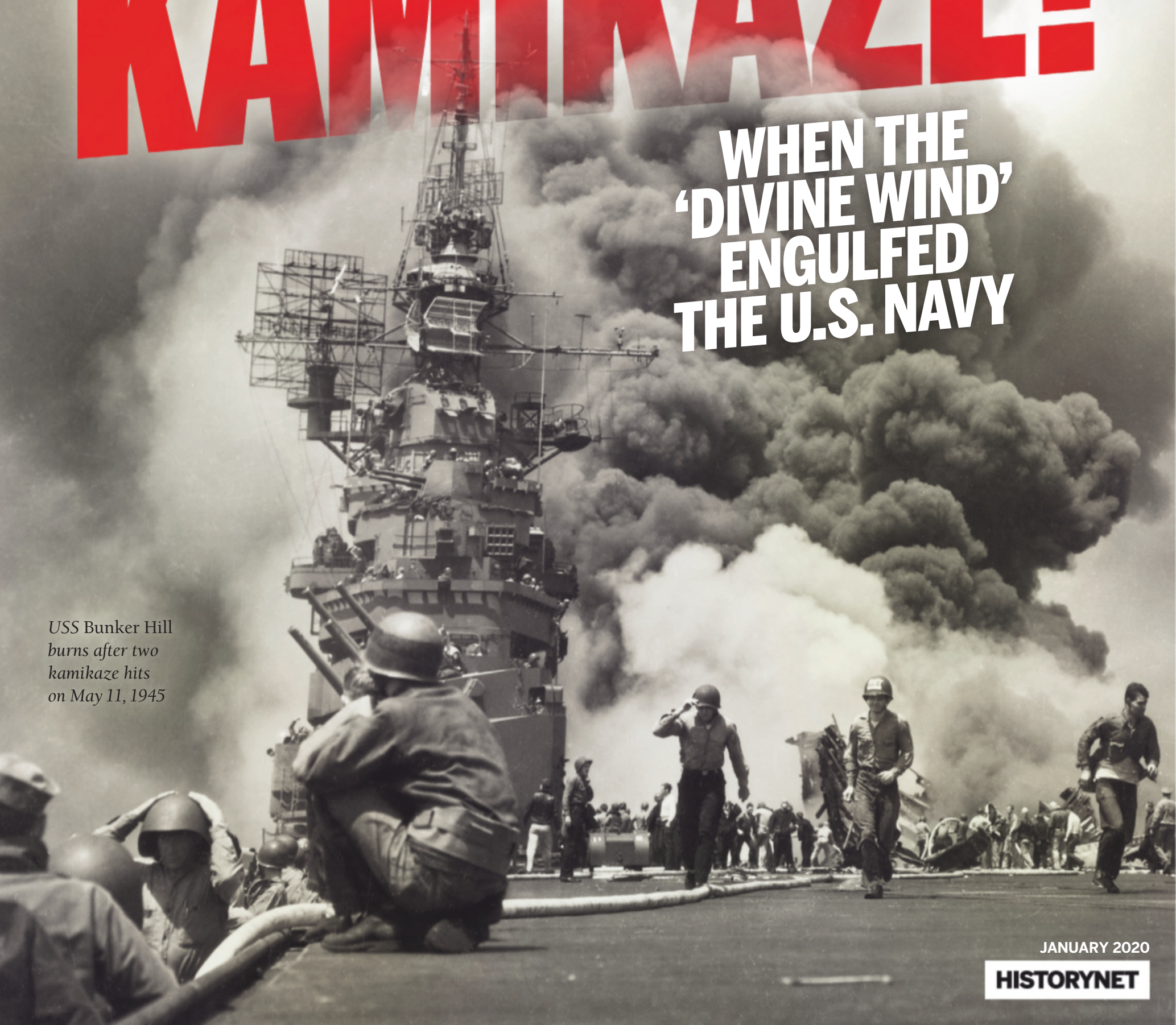
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U.N. in Croatia
Siege of Antioch
French vs. Vietminh
Nova Scotia Fight
Battle of the Boyne
Operation Varsity

KAMIKAZE!

WHEN THE
'DIVINE WIND'
ENGULFED
THE U.S. NAVY

USS Bunker Hill
burns after two
kamikaze hits
on May 11, 1945



JANUARY 2020

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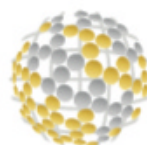
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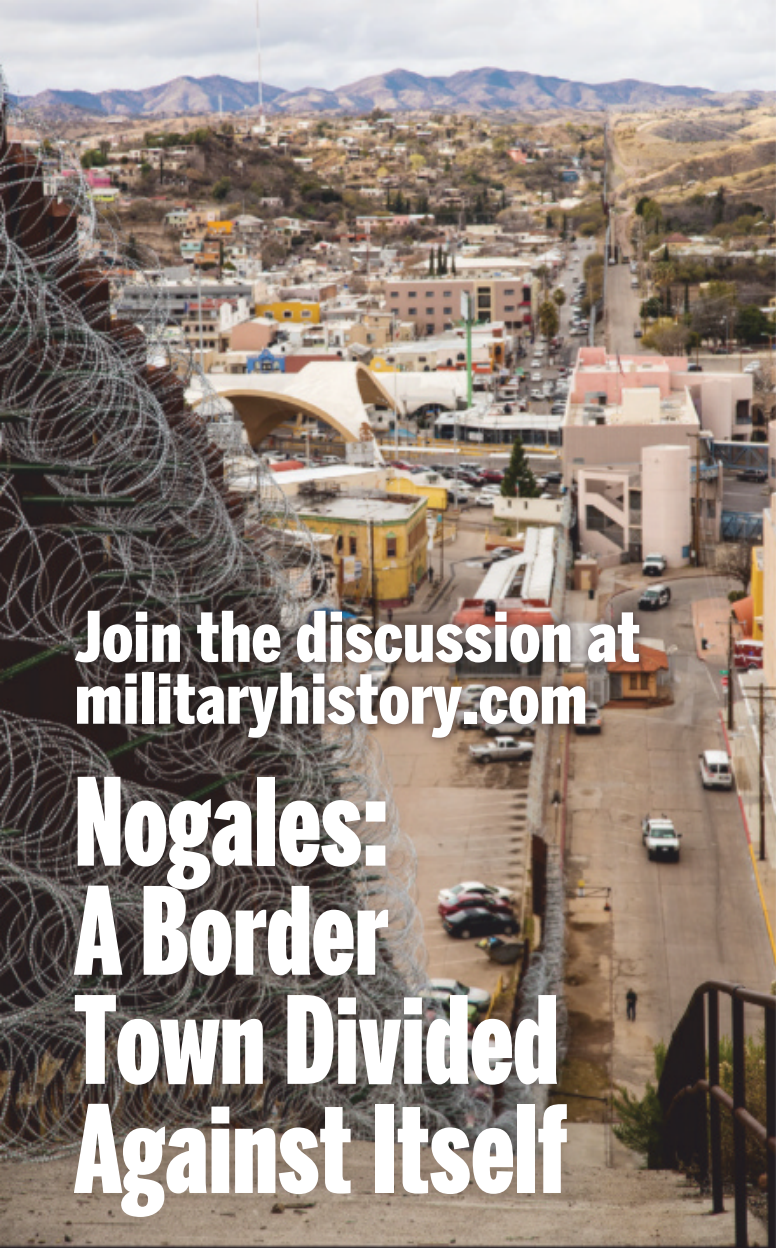
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Join the discussion at
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Nogales: A Border Town Divided Against Itself

In 1918 residents of this dusty city
astride the U.S.-Mexican line went
to war with each other
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IN THE ARCHIVES:

'Colonial School' Warfare

First delineated by RAND in 1958,
counterinsurgency doctrine was born
in the European age of imperialism
By Douglas Porch

Interview Alex Kershaw's latest book
centers on the Allied soldiers who first
engaged the enemy at Normandy

Tools The Soviet IS-2 heavy tank proved
superior to the German Panther but didn't
survive Cold War cost-cutting measures

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JUNE 1944: THE MONTH THAT CHANGED THE WORLD

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When most people think of June 1944, they immediately think: D-Day. The 2019 International Conference on World War II will be a global exploration of what is arguably the most pivotal month of the entire war. The conference sessions take place in a sequence that best tells the story of the entire month and its effects. New works and research on these subjects will be presented by top scholars in the field.

Don't miss the opening keynote lecture from William I. Hitchcock, PhD, discussing "June 1944: The World in the Balance" and closing keynote presentation with Vicki Riskin and Peter Miller who will discuss the legendary documentary film series *Projections of America*.

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Letters



On the Bottle

I noticed on P. 24 of the September 2019 issue of *Military History* (“Medusa’s Curse,” by Bob Gordon) that on the Canadians’ vehicle antennae there appear to be plastic bottles taped on upside down [see above]. Can you advise what is the purpose of this attachment?

Bruce Baker
ROSEVILLE, CALIF.

Editor responds: Canadian units employ such antenna-mounted water bottles to hold infrared chemlights (glow sticks). When maintaining order after dark, a quick glance through night-vision goggles would quickly reveal the organization of the vehicles around you. Depending on the unit and the operating environment, the color and/or number of chemlights would represent the sub-unit.

Ukraine

For many years I have enjoyed your magazine, and

I continue to subscribe and read through the many diverse topics. They are thorough and entertaining. One question: I traveled through Ukraine three times in the last three years and observed firsthand a country on a war footing, single-handedly holding back the threat of Russia and subsequent desire for empire and domination of Eastern Europe. Some 15,000 civilians and nearly 3,000 Ukrainian soldiers have been killed. I observed and attended a half-dozen military funerals during my visits.

I also learned that for all practical purposes the country was the actual “Russian front” during World War II, and the sheer numbers of civilian dead and soldiery were far in advance of many other countries. I have always heard “20 million killed” during World War II but did not realize the majority were Ukrainians.

Now, I read bits and pieces of battles and strategies here and there and catch a few YouTube videos, but this very dramatic standoff between these two countries and the implications of seeing the first major European war since World War II lends me to ask if this conflict is on your editorial radar.

Victor Czerkasij
CLEVELAND, TENN.

Editor responds: The ongoing confrontation between Ukraine and Russia—and their respective proxies—could indeed spark a wider war in Europe. That said, our general rule of thumb is to cover conflicts that occurred 15 or more years ago, simply because anything more recent is more properly considered to be current events rather than military history.

Remote Control

Your November 2019 issue featured superb stories of lesser known military history. Never knew the details on the Breaker Morant case. Thought he was the hero depicted in the Australian movie until your revelation [“The Breaking of Harry Morant,” by Ron Soodalter].

A small correction to your article about airborne turrets [“Aim for the Sky,” by Jon Guttman]: The chin turret of the Boeing B-17G Flying Fortress was not technically manned. It was controlled by the bombardier from a remote aiming and firing device mounted above his Norden bombsight position, with the turret guns themselves mounted below his

deck floor position. This remote aiming system and associated firing device would later be employed by Boeing on all defensive turrets in the B-29 Superfortress.

Col. Wayne Long
U.S. Army (Ret.)
HAVERFORD, PA.

WWI Relics

Regarding your World War I portfolio [“World War Relics,” November 2018]: I’ve dabbled in militaria and collecting since I was in the service. A couple of points I noticed: Under caption G the Springfield bayonet scabbard is missing the canvas cover with the leather tip, and under caption K the trench knives are not “custom.” The wooden-handled knife was found to be unsatisfactory. After just thousands of them were produced, the brass-handled (Mark I) trench knife was produced in numbers exceeding 100,000, mostly at Landers, Frary & Clark [in New Britain, Conn.]. A cruder version was produced at a French firm, Au Lion. While not “custom,” they were specific to the task of hand-to-hand combat. The brass-handled knife stayed in service in various forms through World War II.

Denny Andrews
BELLEVUE, WASH.

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News

By Brendan Manley

HONOR THY FATHER

When the remains of U.S. Air Force Col. Roy A. Knight Jr. were flown home this year, his son played a key role.



A son couldn't honor his father more meaningfully. On Aug. 8, 2019, passengers at Dallas Love Field airport pressed against the terminal windows to witness the arrival of the repatriated remains of U.S. Air Force Col. Roy A. Knight Jr., who was shot down over Laos on May 19, 1967. Making the occasion all the more poignant was the fact that Knight's son, Southwest Airlines Capt. Bryan Knight—who was just 5 when he last saw his father, leaving for war from the same airport 52 years before—was at the controls of the jet that brought the fallen warrior home.

A prewar flight instructor at Laughlin Air Force Base in Del Rio, Texas, Roy Knight deployed to Southeast Asia in January 1967, flying with the 602nd Air Commando Squadron out of Udorn Royal Thai Air Force Base. After flying four months of near daily combat sorties, the 36-year-old major was shot down in his Douglas A-1E Skyraider

while leading a strike against the Ho Chi Minh Trail in northern Laos. He was posthumously promoted to colonel and awarded the Air Force Cross, Silver Star, Distinguished Flying Cross, Purple Heart and six Air Medals.

Searchers had pored over the crash site several times since the 1990s but found no trace of Knight. Finally, in February 2019 a team from the U.S. Defense POW/MIA Accounting Agency identified and recovered his remains. When the jet touched down in Dallas, airport staff respectfully lined the tarmac as an Air Force honor guard carried Knight's flag-draped coffin off the plane. He was buried with full military honors in Holders Chapel Cemetery in Cool, Texas, following funeral services attended by family and friends, including his children, Roy, Gayann and Bryan, as well as several grandchildren and great-grandchildren.

**'To be able to do this, to bring my father home—
I'm very, very honored and very lucky'**

—Capt. Bryan Knight

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Ike's Christmas Tree Chopper

This Christmas the White House Historical Association honors President Dwight D. Eisenhower with a miniature Sikorsky H-34 helicopter as its official White House ornament. In 1957 Eisenhower initiated the use of helicopters as a mode of presidential transport, the next year adopting the H-34, which saw combat duty on every continent in the armed forces of more than two dozen countries. Sikorsky has since built every presidential helicopter. The ornament (\$22.95) is available online at whitehousehistory.org.

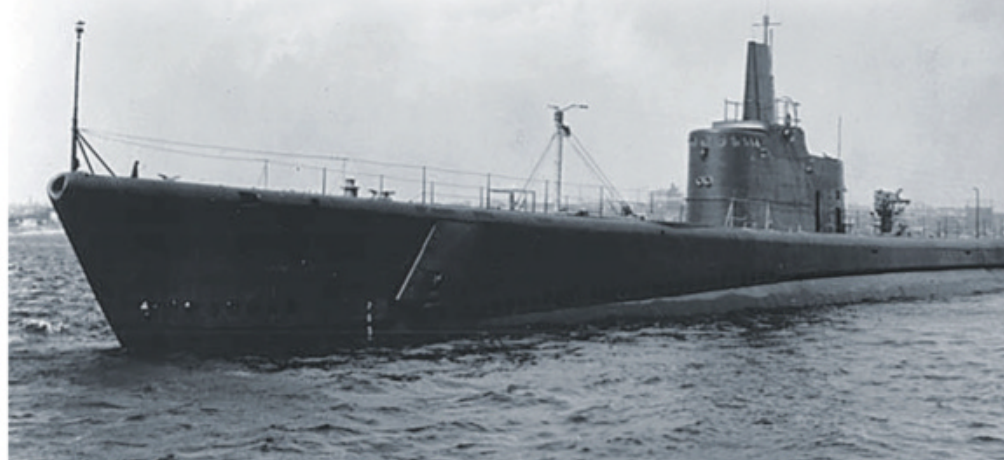
Stamps Honor Military Dogs

The U.S. Postal Service has issued a Military Working Dogs forever stamp series, honoring American armed forces' frontline canines. Each 20-stamp booklet fea-



tures the breeds (German Shepherd, Labrador Retriever, Dutch Shepherd and Belgian Malinois) most often used in military service. U.S. forces have employed dogs in various capacities since the 19th century Seminole wars.

BOW OF STRICKEN WWII SUB GRUNION DISCOVERED



Maritime researchers in the Bering Sea off Kiska, Alaska, have found the bow of the World War II submarine USS *Grunion*, the missing piece of a puzzle surrounding the vessel's 1942 sinking. Using drones and photogrammetry imaging, the Lost 52 Project pinpointed the bow section at 2,713 feet near the main wreckage, which another search team discovered in 2007.

Deployed to the Japanese-occupied area of the Aleutian Islands in June 1942, the *Gato*-class *Grunion* sank two enemy patrol boats before turning for base in Dutch Harbor on Amaknak Island on July 30. It never arrived. That fall the Navy struck the sub from the Naval Vessel Register and declared its 70-man crew lost. It is believed one of the sub's own torpedoes circled back and damaged *Grunion*, sending it to the bottom.

PATROL BOAT OFF MAINE AMONG LAST WWII KILLS

A private dive team has announced the discovery in the coastal waters off Maine of the patrol boat USS *Eagle 56*, one of the last Navy warships sunk by a German U-boat in World War II. The wreckage lies at 300 feet some 5 miles off Cape Elizabeth.

Eagle 56 was towing a practice target for bombers from Naval Air Station Brunswick on April 23, 1945, when it sank with 49 of its 62-man crew. The Navy suspected a boiler explosion. But findings indicate the German sub *U-853*—itself sunk days later off Block Island, R.I.—had torpedoed *Eagle 56*. Video of the discovery will air this fall on the Smithsonian Channel program *The Hunt for Eagle 56*.



WAR RECORD

Dec. 1, 1953

French Gen. Henri Navarre renames the consolidated Composite Airborne Commando Group the *Groupe-mixte mixtes d'intervention* (GMI), or Composite Intervention Group. The 20,000-man guerrilla force factors heavily in the latter stages of the 1946–54 **First Indochina War** (P. 56).

Dec. 31, 1097

While foraging during the siege of **Antioch** (P. 48), 20,000 crusaders under Bohemond and Robert of Flanders battle a Muslim relief army from Damascus. The crusaders prevail but return empty-handed to camp.

January 1776

Amid the building **American Revolution** (P. 64), as Nova Scotia Governor Francis Legge becomes increasingly paranoid and hostile, Lt. Gov. Michael Francklin sends delegates to London to oust him. Legge's replacement, Mariot Arbuthnot, quells talk of rebellion and keeps the province under Crown rule.

Jan. 22, 1993

The Croatian army launches Operation Maslenica to retake parts of northern Dalmatia and Lika from Krajina Serb forces. An incursion into U.N. "pink zones," the mission foreshadows **Operation Medak Pocket** (P. 22) that fall.

Jan. 24, 1927

Amid a civil war in **Nicaragua** (P. 40), 400 Marines land to protect U.S. interests in the region. The occupation stretches until 1933, when President Herbert Hoover pulls out all remaining troops.

LESSONS FROM THE NAPOLEONIC WARS

The remains of Gen. Charles-Étienne Gudin, a favorite of French emperor Napoléon, were unearthed in Russia.



More than two centuries after the culminating battle of the Napoleonic wars researchers continue to learn about the era and its key figures. Recent digs in Russia and Belgium have turned up significant finds, from the grave of one of Napoléon Bonaparte's favorite generals to the grisly vestiges of a Waterloo field hospital.

Researchers in southwest Russia have unearthed the likely remains of Gen. Charles-Étienne Gudin, 44, a lifelong friend of the emperor, who was mortally wounded by a cannonball on Aug. 19, 1812, during the Battle of Valutino amid Napoléon's failed invasion. On Gudin's death three days later comrades removed his heart for enshrinement in Paris' Père Lachaise Cemetery. His name was subsequently inscribed on the Arc de Triomphe, while a bust of his likeness graces the Palace of Versailles. A coffin containing what is almost certainly Gudin's corpse was found this summer beneath the foundations of a dance floor in a Smolensk park. The exhumed body's injuries, including an amputated left leg and damaged right leg, are consistent with those reportedly suffered by the general.

Meanwhile, in Belgium archaeologists have conducted the first-ever excavation of the Mont-Saint-Jean allied field hospital on the Waterloo battlefield, unearthing scores of amputated limbs, as well as musket balls fired during a previously unrecorded fight near the site. During the June 18, 1815, battle some 6,000 wounded allied troops were treated at the hospital, including Prince William II of the Netherlands and the Duke of Wellington's military secretary, Lt. Col. Lord Fitz-Roy Somerset, whose right arm was amputated. The concentration of projectiles from both allied Brown Bess muskets and smaller-caliber French arms suggests an intense firefight took place near the hospital, possibly after French generals ordered a cavalry charge against Mont-Saint-Jean.

'Hard pounding this, gentlemen; let's see who will pound longest'

—Arthur Wellesley, Duke of Wellington, at Waterloo

Preserving The Alamo

As part of a multi-million-dollar re-development plan for the plaza around San Antonio's famed Alamo, archaeologists are excavating beneath the 1836 battle site's long barracks and mission to assess how best to preserve them. The team will place sensors to monitor groundwater, which poses a threat to stonework at this shrine to the Texas Revolution. As the project marks the first formal archaeological study of the



barracks, researchers also hope to make unexpected discoveries.

A-10 Warthog Keeps Flying

The U.S. Air Force is outfitting its aging fleet of 281 Fairchild Republic A-10 Thunderbolts (aka "Warthogs") with new wings from Boeing, thus extending through the 2030s the lifespan of the iconic ground-attack plane, recognizable by its nose-mounted, seven-barrel 30 mm Gatling gun. The Air Force aims to eventually replace the nearly 50-year-old A-10 with the faster and stealthier—albeit more expensive—Lockheed Martin F-35A Lightning II.

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News

Dig Studies U.K. POW Camp

Archaeologists have completed the first formal study of Lodge Moor prison camp near Sheffield, England, which dates from World War I and held more than 11,000 mostly German POWs at its World War II peak. Among its more infamous World War I internees was then submarine commander Karl Dönitz—future Nazi naval commander and German Reich president—who was captured in 1918. Research has revealed overcrowded conditions at the camp, with more than 70 prisoners crammed into each barrack designed for 30.

Honoring Vets at 7 Fathoms

Circle of Heroes, the nation's first underwater memorial to veterans, has opened to divers off Clearwater, Fla. Set some 40 feet below the surface of the Gulf of Mexico, it



features 12 life-size statues of service-members in a circle around a memorial honoring the five branches of the U.S. military. Plans call for a dozen more statues by 2020. The site will also host diving-related rehabilitation programs for veterans.



BRITAIN LAUNCHES VETERANS OFFICE

Within weeks of his election British Prime Minister Boris Johnson has created his nation's first Office of Veterans Affairs. Led by Conservative MP Johnny Mercer, the office is tasked with overseeing veteran housing, mental health support and employment, with a mandate from Johnson to end contentious investigations of British soldiers stemming from their actions in Iraq and Afghanistan. Johnson also seeks to enact "military covenant" law, enabling soldiers to sue the government if mistreated.

Himself a veteran, Mercer served primarily with 29 Commando Regiment Royal Artillery during three tours in Afghanistan. He was also attached to a special forces group and helped train Afghan troops, later becoming a veterans' advocate. Mercer will run the new office alongside Paymaster General Oliver Dowden.

REVELATIONS FROM MAYAN WAR SITE

Researchers studying the Mayan city of Witzna in Guatemala have found evidence of large-scale warfare dating back a century or more earlier than believed. The revised time line suggests Mayan cities in the region were attacked during the civilization's heyday, rather than its decline. Core samples and excavations revealed a period of invasion-related arson in Witzna around 700, followed by declining human use. The evidence coincides with an inscription found in nearby Naranjo that describes back-to-back attacks on Witzna by hostile Naranjo warriors in early 697. According to the inscription, the attacks came amid a five-year Naranjo campaign against five Mayan cities.



REEL WAR

A new batch of war films, spanning World War I through the Vietnam War, have recently screened or are set to premiere in theaters, including the following:

1917

Directed by Sam Mendes, *1917* depicts the Third Battle of Ypres, based partly on an account by Mendes' paternal grandfather, writer Alfred Mendes, who fought with British forces in Flanders.

Midway

The pivotal June 4–7, 1942, World War II naval battle—first dramatized in the eponymous 1976 film—gets a remake by big-budget director Roland Emmerich.

The Keeper

Marcus Rosenmüller directs this real-life account of Bert Trautmann, a decorated German paratrooper who played soccer in Britain, first as a POW and then in the postwar era as a professional, initially sparking bitter protests.

Danger Close

Directed by Kriv Stenders, this Australian film relates the 1966 Battle of Long Tan, in which 108 ANZAC soldiers fought off more than 2,000 Vietcong and North Vietnamese troops.

Lancaster Skies

An homage to British war dramas of the 1940s and '50s, *Lancaster Skies* portrays the RAF Bomber Command in 1943 through the eyes of Flight Lt. Douglas Miller, a fictional troubled Spitfire ace.

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Medium Tank – Panzer Abteilung 2, Panzer Brigade 107,
Northern Bavaria, Defense of the Reich, April 1945



German Sd. Kfz. 181 PzKpfw VI Tiger I Ausf. E Heavy Tank –
schwere Panzer Abteilung 502, Russia, 1942



British Cromwell Mk. IV Tank – 2nd Armoured Battalion,
Welsh Guards, 6th Guards Armoured Brigade, 1944



US M4A3 Sherman Medium Tank –
Unidentified Unit, Luxembourg, 1944



British Churchill Mk. III Infantry Tank –
6th Scots Guards Tank Brigade, Italy, 1943



German Krauss-Maffei Sd. Kfz. 7/1 8-Ton
Semi-Track Personnel Carrier/Prime Mover –
Unidentified Unit, Tunisia, 1943



US M3A1 Half-Track –
41st Armored Infantry, 2nd Armored Division,
Normandy, 1944

Although the description “military vehicle” is more commonly associated with the tanks that became so important following their initial use during the bloody Somme offensive of World War I, a multitude of vehicles were pressed into service during the following conflict, World War II. From airfield support vehicles—essential in keeping airmen and aircraft flying—to the general transport vehicles that ferried troops and supplies to and from the battlefield, Corgi’s all-new Military Legends range includes tanks and other military

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Interview **Four Hours of Fury**

Interview by Paraag Shukla



James Fenelon

By March 1945 the Allies were closing in around Germany, but the 400-yard-wide Rhine River remained a significant natural obstacle to their progress. Although Americans had crossed the Ludendorff Bridge at Remagen, the main Allied thrust would be led by British Field Marshal Bernard Montgomery farther north, near Wesel.

*James Fenelon's new book, **Four Hours of Fury**, relates the firsthand experiences of the U.S. 17th Airborne Division during Operation Varsity, the subsequent combat jump during which 17,000 troops were inserted by parachute and glider on the far banks of the Rhine. Fenelon [jamesfenelon.com] is himself a veteran and a graduate of the U.S. Army's Airborne, Jumpmaster and Pathfinder schools. His hands-on experience, diligent research and interviews with veterans combine in a gripping, action-packed narrative of one of the most dangerous yet overlooked operations of the war.*

Describe your military service.

I enlisted in the U.S. Army Reserve right out of high school. I eventually did go to the University of Texas, but I first wanted to serve my country. So I enlisted and ended up going to Airborne School at Fort Benning in 1988. That was really when I first learned about Operation Varsity.

In high school I had learned about D-Day, and on my own about Market Garden—but I had never heard of the jump across the Rhine. It always just stuck with me. After I got out of the service, I started doing research on my own and going to veterans' reunions, where I met the actual guys who had participated in the operation.

What encouraged you to write about Operation Varsity?

I have to thank my wife for that. I was complaining one night about not being able to find what I was looking for. All these other books had been written about D-Day and Market Garden—as well they should, not to take anything from those operations. She just looked at me and said, “Why don't you just write the book that you're trying to find?”

Most histories focus on parachute infantry. What are the advantages and disadvantages of glider infantry operations?

The advantage of gliders was similar to UH-60 Black Hawk and CH-47 Chinook helicopters doing air assault operations today. You could bring in heavier equipment, such as jeeps and artillery pieces, which you really couldn't airdrop at the time. They did drop artillery pieces but had to first disassemble them into several pieces. The Waco CG-4 glider could bring them in intact. It also had the advan-

tage of landing squads of troops in the same place in fighting order. Glider infantry had to know all of their tie-down knots and other things that are similar to the sling-load operations that go on today with air assault.

Glider did have their disadvantages. It was a one-way trip, and as an engineless aircraft it had to land on the terrain available. Not very many of them were recoverable after the landing. Also, the guys were a little disgruntled—they weren't volunteers, they were assigned to ride into combat in a glider, and they didn't get parachutes. Initially they didn't even get flight or jump pay; that was only addressed later in the war.

Glider had been used in Normandy and Market Garden. Had the technology adapted or improved as a result?

The basic model itself didn't change, but what did change were some of the safety features. Before Varsity they were trying to scramble and install modifications to the cockpit to protect the pilots. They added a “Corey skid,” which looks like a giant wooden water ski, on the bottom of the glider's nose. It was designed to help keep up the nose when landing and deal with smaller obstacles like wire fences. Then they had this other big contraption called a Griswold nose that they bolted to the front of the Waco. It was basically a big metal cage designed to bulldoze through anything, trees and whatnot, that would have otherwise ripped into the cockpit.

What accounts for the large numbers of aircraft downed and heavy casualties incurred during Varsity?

That April, the last full month of the war in Europe, Americans suffered as

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U.S. Army Air Force C-47s drop paratroopers and equipment canisters east of the Rhine River at the outset of Operation Varsity on March 24, 1945.

many casualties as they had in June 1944—a little under 11,000 killed in action. As the Germans fell back into Germany, their supply lines got shorter and logistics became easier.

In the case of Varsity, the Germans knew the Allies were coming and had a pretty good idea, based on Montgomery's previous tactics, he would use airborne troops. So they started stripping antiaircraft weapons from other areas and bringing them to where they suspected the drop would occur. The Allies even intercepted Enigma transmissions telling German crews to sleep at their guns and expect the airborne operation at any time.

From a paratrooper's perspective, was it foolish of Montgomery to order men to jump in daylight directly atop German forces?

It's an interesting debate. I think if the paratroopers had had their way, they would have preferred to do it at night. Major General William M. Miley, commander of the 17th Airborne Division, wanted to go at night. Major General

Matthew Ridgway, commander of the XVIII Airborne Corps at the time, advocated a daylight drop. Even though the Allies enjoyed air supremacy during the day, there was still a lot of concern about *Luftwaffe* night fighters, and if they got into these lumbering transport armadas, they would wreak havoc.

I also think there was a bit of a psychological game there, as they changed the traditional sequence and dropped the airborne troops *after* the initial assault on the Rhine started—an attempt to confuse the Germans into thinking maybe they wouldn't use airborne troops.

Given the Americans had already crossed the Rhine at Remagen, were the air-drops effective, or would a strictly ground operation have sufficed?

The crossing at Remagen was in terrain not conducive to the breakout and encirclement of the Ruhr Valley. Even before they landed in Normandy, the Allies had a broad-stroke plan as to how they were going to enter Germany and finish

the war. Part of that plan relied on crossing an area where Montgomery did, because it allowed them to cut off the industrial capability of the Reich.

When the Americans got across at Remagen, it did help Montgomery's operation, because the Germans had to send reinforcements there to try to stop them. So while Varsity ended up being beneficial to the Rhine crossing, it wasn't intended to replace it.

In what ways have airborne operations changed since those early drops?

The fundamentals haven't changed. They're still using the same 250-foot towers at Fort Benning for jump school that they used during the war. I think the biggest changes were in the aircraft and the accuracy of the drops. Night-time navigation in a C-47 was extremely difficult, and whenever the Allies tried it, in Italy and in Normandy, it was a borderline disaster. Compare that technology to today—we have GPS and can bring those guys from anywhere in the world and drop them on top of a tennis court if we need to. **MH**

Valor The Fabled ‘Shipka’

By Frank Jastrzembski



Maj. Alastair Campbell
Ottoman army
Medjidie Order
Shipka Pass, Bulgaria
Sept. 17, 1877

By mid-September 1877 opposing armies had spent eight weeks locked in a gruesome slugfest for control of a Bulgarian pass providing a direct route to the Ottoman capital of Constantinople (present-day Istanbul). Mount St. Nicholas loomed above the other three main crests overlooking Shipka

Pass, making its capture imperative. Concealed behind boulders, Russian and Bulgarian troops gazed down on a sea of Ottoman corpses left behind after earlier assaults. Far below that scene of carnage a 31-year-old Scotsman paced the Turkish lines, shouting words of encouragement in English as he prepared to lead the last forlorn attempt to capture St. Nicholas and secure the pass. His subsequent deeds would make him a folk hero in the annals of the Ottoman army and forever add the moniker “Shipka” to his name.

Alastair Harry Campbell was born in Argyll on Jan. 6, 1846, but by age 13 had left Scotland, never to return. In 1864 the teen served in the New Zealand Forest Rangers and was wounded in the thigh battling Maori warriors. He next traveled to Africa, serving in Lt. Gen. Sir Garnet Wolseley’s British expedition to the Gold Coast in 1873–74, followed by a stretch in the captured Ashanti capital of Kumasi through 1875. By the time he arrived in Bulgaria in 1877, he’d established a solid reputation as a military adventurer.

The Scotsman embodied everything a Victorian hero should possess—a robust frame, courage bordering on folly and a chivalric spirit. Fellow officers noted he “found a keen joy in danger” and possessed “an unconquerable thirst” for combat. Campbell reportedly had one other unconquerable thirst—for hard drink. Wolseley recalled that when “sober and away from temptation, he is a splendid fellow,” but when under the spell of spirits, the Scotsman could be volatile.

Campbell arrived in Constantinople in the summer of 1877, offering his services to the Ottomans at the outbreak of the latest Russo-Turkish War. Assigned

as a staff officer to Süleyman Pasha, he doubled as a British war correspondent during the subsequent Balkan campaign. The Scot became an idol in camp for his larger-than-life personality, coolness under fire and compassion toward Ottoman soldiers.

Starting in mid-July Süleyman sacrificed thousands of men in futile assaults against the Russians atop Shipka Pass. Finally, on September 17 Campbell volunteered to lead 800 men against Mount St. Nicholas. Under Russian gunfire Campbell and his troops scaled the near-vertical heights, securing a toehold on the peak. There they remained huddled for hours under intense fire, shielded only by splintered rocks and the bodies of their dead. With their ammunition expended and no infantry support forthcoming, the attackers were forced to abandon the position. Just six, including Campbell, returned uninjured to a hero’s welcome. A contemporary war correspondent noted the action as “the pluckiest thing that has been done in any modern war.” Sultan Abdülaziz awarded the Scot the Medjidie Order for distinguished service by a foreign national.

Campbell left Bulgaria a celebrity and resided in Ceylon until recalled to Africa in 1879. That fall Wolseley appointed him to lead a contingent of allied Swazi auxiliaries against rebelling King Sekukuni in the Transvaal. On November 28 Wolseley’s column struck Sekukuni’s camp. Campbell had expressed a premonition of death before the battle but nevertheless charged out boldly in front of the main line. It wasn’t long before he dropped, reportedly shot by one of Sekukuni’s warriors and dragged into a cave to be finished off.

Despite heroic efforts, the revered Scotsman’s body was never found. Tragic as his end may have been, a soldier’s death on the field seemed fit for the fabled “Shipka” Campbell. **MH**



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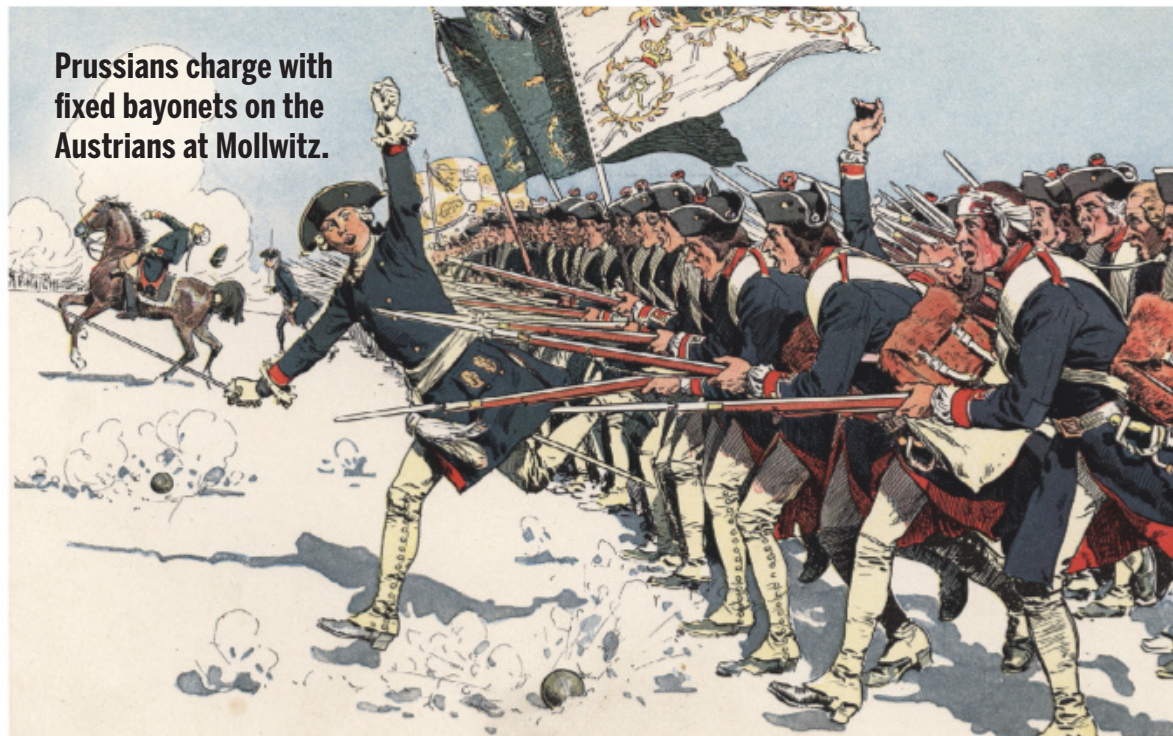
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What We Learned From... The Battle of Mollwitz, 1741

By Jon Guttman



On Oct. 20, 1740, Emperor Charles VI of the Austrian Hapsburg monarchy died, and his eldest daughter, Maria Theresa, assumed the throne, with husband Francis Stephen as nominal co-ruler. Two months later Frederick II of Prussia—pouncing on the contentious issue of female succession—demanded Maria Theresa cede him all or part of the Bohemian duchies of Silesia in exchange for his support of her sovereignty. In so doing, the Prussian king had grossly underestimated the 23-year-old empress, who, though inexperienced, proved a quick learner and of no mind to cede one of her realm’s most mineral-rich regions to a bully she dismissed as “that evil man.” Frederick invaded Silesia, Maria Theresa dispatched a 20,000-man army under *Generalfeldmarschall* Wilhelm Reinhard von Neipperg to eject him, and the War of the Austrian Succession was on.

Prussian troops swiftly occupied most of Silesia, and Frederick sent them into winter quarters expecting Maria Theresa to accept his *fait accompli*. Neipperg, however, marched around the main Prussian force to relieve the besieged city of Neisse. Frederick moved north to intercept him, only to find the Austrians encamped at Mollwitz, in position to cut off his lines of supply and communication. On the morning of April 10, 1741, the Prussian king, having learned of the enemy’s position from captured Austrian soldiers, advanced through snow and fog to within a mile of Neipperg’s camp. Instead of ordering an immediate charge, however, Frederick—in battle for the first time—took some 90 minutes to form his estimated 22,000 troops into two lines, compounding that error by miscalculating the distance to the Oder River on his right and deploying some units behind a bend in the river that kept them out of the fight. Initially surprised to find the Prussians at his rear, Neipperg had plenty of time to turn his battle lines 180 degrees, and by 1 p.m. both sides were ready to engage.

Neipperg struck first with a charge by six cavalry regiments—upward of 4,500 troopers under Lt. Gen. Carl von Römer—into the strangely stationary cavalry

on the Prussian right, scattering it and then crashing into the Prussian infantry. Anticipating the worst, Frederick’s veteran general, Kurt Christophe Graf von Schwerin, advised the king to quit the field. As he did so, Frederick was nearly caught and shot.

Meanwhile, the Prussians had rallied to stop the Austrian horse and drop Römer with a shot to the head. Schwerin’s infantry commanders on both wings were also dead, but when an officer asked where they should retreat, the brash Prussian general reportedly replied, “We’ll retreat over the bodies of our enemies.” He soon restored order, and after his troops beat back a second Austrian cavalry attack on his left flank, he ordered a general advance. The well-drilled Prussian foot soon drove the Austrians from the field, handing the absent Prussian king—later to be known as Frederick the Great—his first victory.

Lessons:

Defer to experience. After sending Frederick off, Schwerin restored order in the Prussian ranks, turned the tide of battle and helped his king through a tough combat initiation.

Discretion is not always the better part of valor. Almost killed while retiring from the field, Frederick vowed never to leave his troops again—a promise he kept for the rest of his illustrious career.

Seize the initiative. After the near disaster at Mollwitz, Frederick issued a general directive: “The Prussian army always attacks.”

Learn from failure. Frederick made mistakes but proved as quick a study as his rival. “Mollwitz was my school,” he later admitted. **MH**

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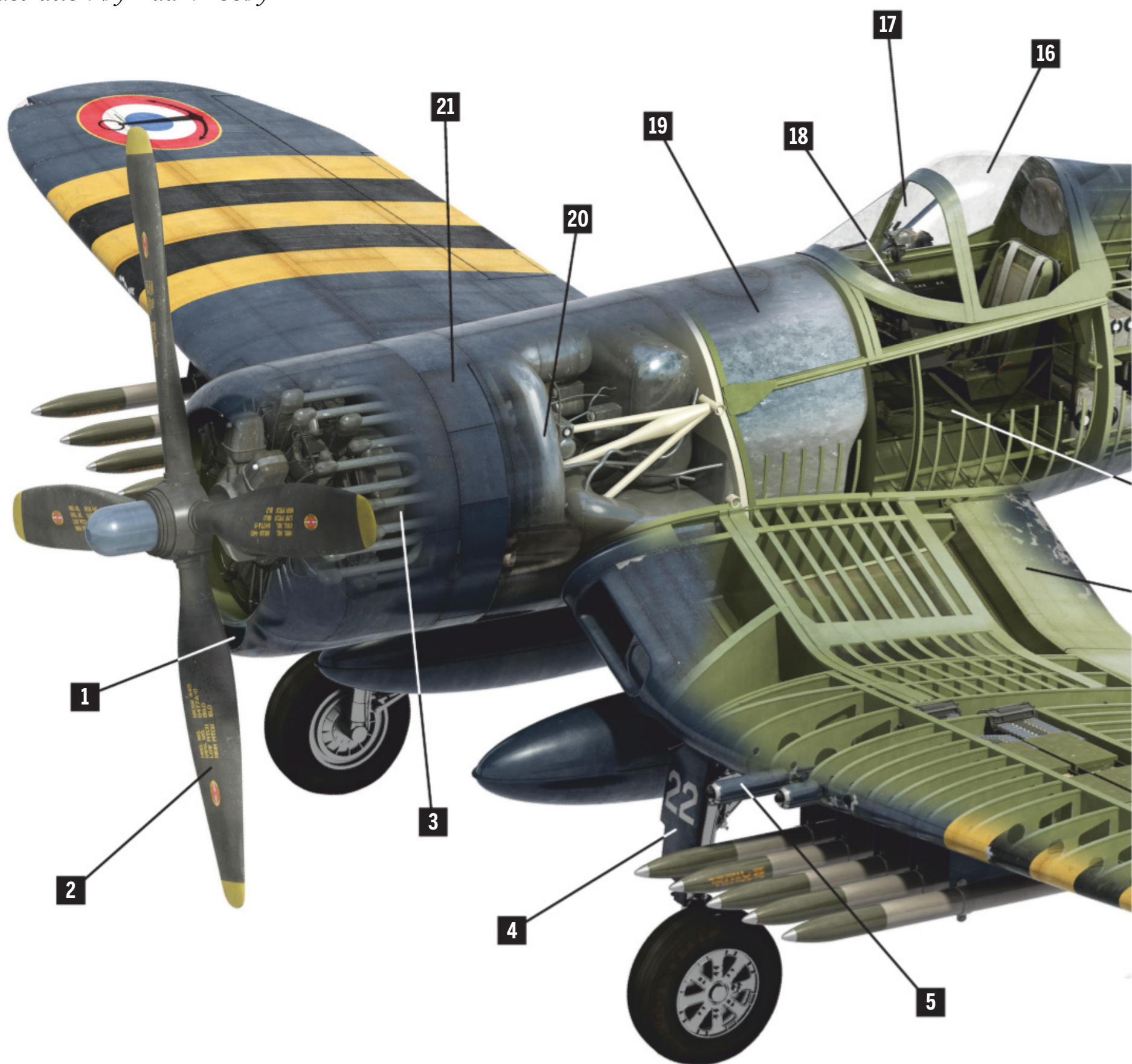
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Hardware Vought F4U-7 Corsair

By Jon Guttman

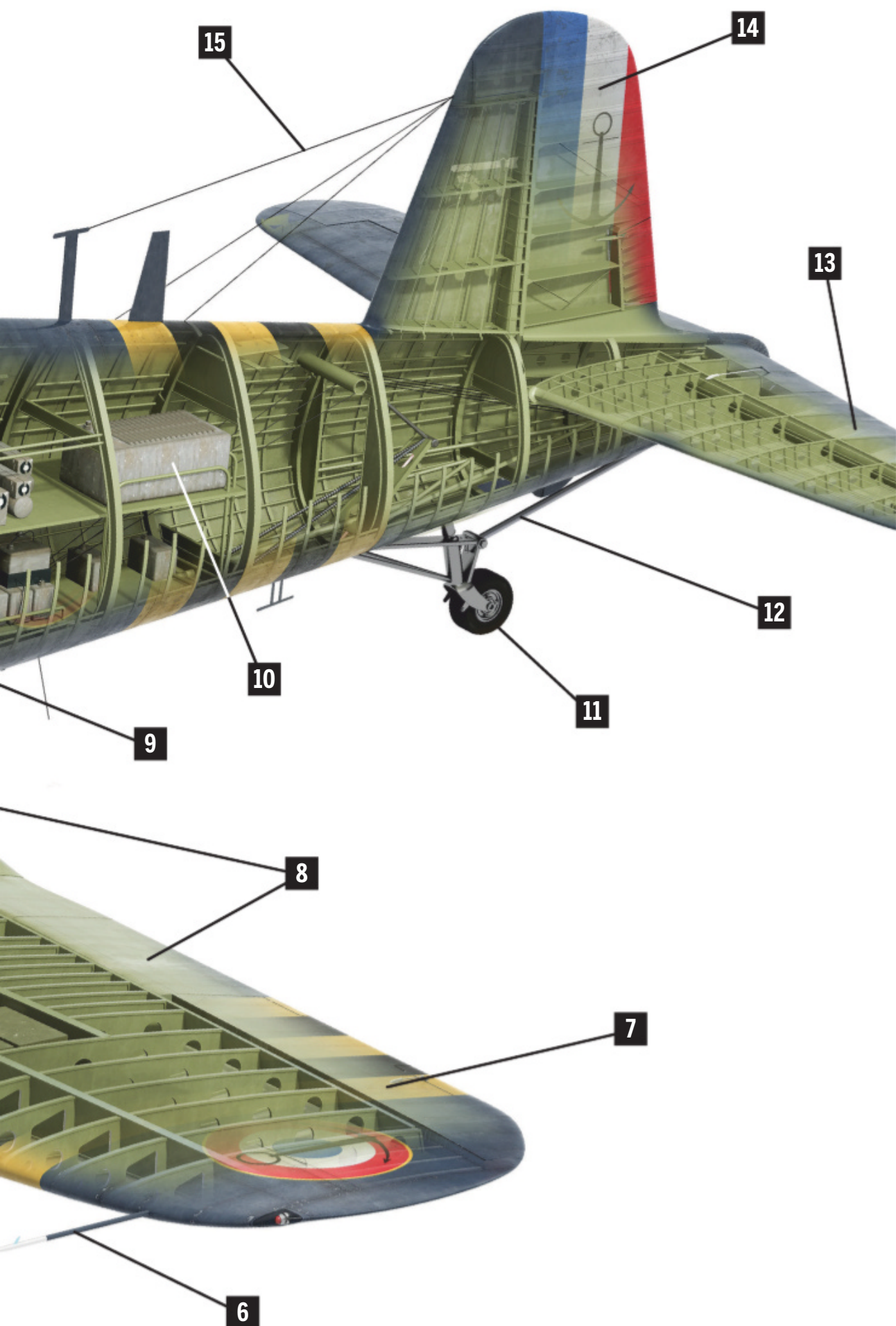
Illustration by Adam Tooby



The prototype Vought XF4U-1 Corsair made its maiden flight on May 29, 1940, and that October became the first single-engine fighter to exceed 400 mph. After a shaky debut the Corsair developed into a carrier-operable aircraft that dominated the Pacific skies in World War II, during which F4U pilots earned three Medals of Honor and a Victoria Cross. It remained effective during the Korean War. Notably, U.S. Navy Lt. Thomas J. Hudner received the Medal of Honor for deliberately crash-landing his Corsair in an attempt to rescue downed squadron mate Ensign Jesse L. Brown. The only Navy ace of that war, Guy

Bordelon, scored his five victories in an F4U-5N night fighter.

The last Corsair model, the F4U-7, was procured specially for the French *Aéronavale* through the U.S. Mutual Assistance Program. The 94 built at Chance Vought's Dallas plant combined the payload capacity of the AU-1 attack variant with the F4U-4 fighter's



1. Nose cowl inlet
2. Hamilton Standard constant-speed propeller
3. Pratt & Whitney R-2800-18W Double Wasp radial engine
4. Main landing gear/dive brakes
5. AN/M3 20 mm cannons
6. Pitot tube
7. Aileron (plywood/fabric covered with trim tab and balance tab)
8. Flaps (center and inboard)
9. Armored cockpit floor
10. Radio compartment
11. Tail wheel
12. Arrester hook
13. Elevator (fabric covered)
14. Rudder with trim tab
15. Aerial masts
16. Canopy (rearward sliding)
17. Armored glass (interior)
18. Instrument panel
19. Fuselage fuel cell (self-sealing)
20. Supercharger housing
21. Cowl flaps

Vought F4U-7 Corsair

Crew: One

Engine: Pratt and Whitney Double Wasp air-cooled 18-cylinder water-injected radial

Wingspan: 41 feet

Wing area: 314 square feet

Length: 34 feet 6 inches

Length (fuselage): 24 feet 5 inches

Height: 14 feet 9 inches

Weight:

Empty: 9,205 pounds

Gross: 14,670 pounds

Maximum speed: 446 mph at 26,200 feet

Maximum ceiling: 41,500 feet

Range: 1,005 miles

Armament: Four AN/M3 20 mm cannons

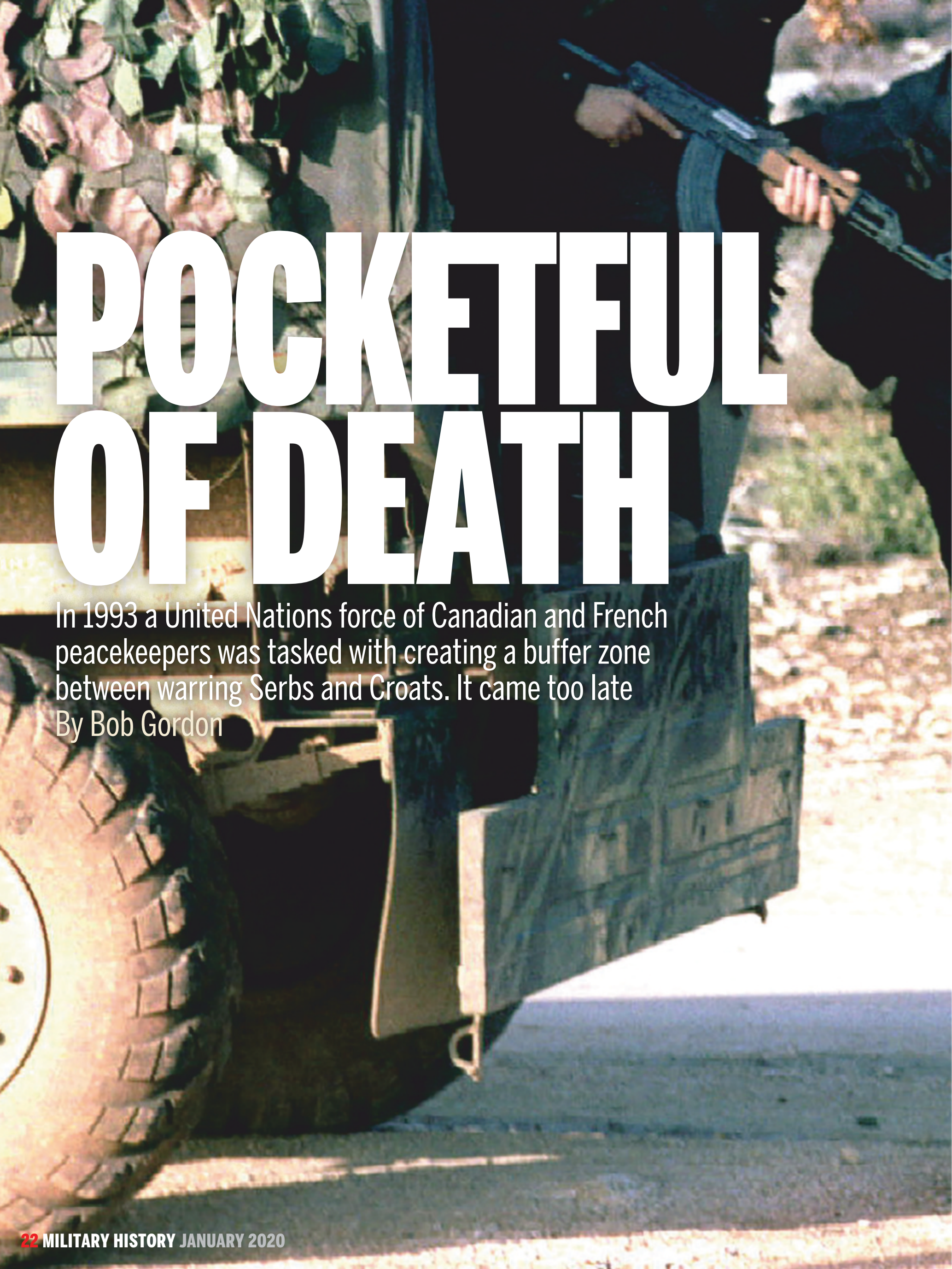
2,100 hp Pratt & Whitney R-2800-18W engine within a revised cowl.

The first F4U-7s were delivered to *Flottille 14F* at Karouba Air Base near Bizerte, Tunisia, on Jan. 15, 1953, and on April 17, 1954 the unit arrived at Da Nang, where 25 AU-1s were already in action during the First Indochina War. Operations continued after Dien

Bien Phu fell to the Viet Minh on May 7. Just two Corsairs were shot down during the nearly 1,000 sorties flown before hostilities ceased on July 21.

French Corsairs subsequently operated against Algerian guerrillas starting in 1955. During the Suez Crisis the following year 36 Corsairs with yellow-and-black wing bands flew

from the carriers *Arromanches* and *La Fayette*, losing one plane to anti-aircraft fire and another in a landing accident. Responding to a blockade of the Tunisian air base in 1961, Corsairs flew more than 150 sorties without a single loss. F4U-7s continued to serve with the *Aéronavale* until their retirement on Sept. 28, 1964. **MH**



POCKETFUL OF DEATH

In 1993 a United Nations force of Canadian and French peacekeepers was tasked with creating a buffer zone between warring Serbs and Croats. It came too late

By Bob Gordon

Masked Serb fighters deploy from a truck in no-man's-land during fighting in the U.N.-protected Krajina region of Croatia in 1993.





Adopted in 1956, the dress beret worn by U.N. peacekeeping troops shares the distinctive color of the international organization's flag.

It was Sept. 16, 1993, and hardly a typical press conference. No podiums and no flags, just plenty of weapons. An M113 armored personnel carrier painted U.N. white and stopped at a mined Croatian roadblock provided the backdrop, and reporters shouted their questions over the roar of a convoy of APCs idling restlessly off camera. The center of attention, Lt. Col. Jim Calvin, the commander of 2 Battalion, Princess Patricia's Canadian Light Infantry (PPCLI), was fuming. Based on a cease-fire agreement negotiated by diplomats and politicians in Zagreb, the Croatian capital, Calvin had been tasked with inserting his troops between warring Serbian and Croatian forces near Medak, in the internationally unrecognized Krajina region of southern Croatia. He was frustrated by the Croats that were blocking his troops' advance. "At some stage you have to cut the bull---- and get on with the job," Calvin bluntly told the gathered news crews. "And all I've heard right now from the Croatian people at my level here is a bunch of half-baked excuses aimed at delaying us from getting on with the operation."

With three M-84 tanks (the Yugoslav variant of the Soviet-era T-72) threatening in the distance, Calvin had deployed his infantrymen along the ditches and roadsides, their small arms loaded and locked, while gunners atop the M113 trained their BGM-71 TOW (tube-launched, optically tracked, wire-guided) anti-tank missile tubes on the Croatian armor. The Princess Pats were determined to fulfill their mission and prepared to do battle with the Croats if necessary. International media attention, coupled with Croatian President Franjo Tudjman's fear of subsequent diplomatic opprobrium, ultimately won the day. Within 90 minutes the Croats had removed the roadblock, and the Canadians were rolling north.

Remarkably, only hours earlier, these same Canadians and Croats had been shooting at each other. The night before, recalled Sgt. Rod Dearing, the Canadians had done "some major damage" in the firefight—killing 27, according to initial Croatian reports. In the intervening quarter-century and with the complicity of participants on both sides of the battle, this small but significant engagement has slipped from memory.

Five years later Calvin addressed the Canadian Senate Standing Committee on National Defence and Veterans

Affairs. "The Medak operation was a peace enforcement operation of 14 days' duration that was set in the context of a broader traditional peacekeeping operation," he explained to the senators. "On very short notice we were required to move into what was an enforcement operation, using almost the full extent of the weapons systems we had available to us to enforce the will of the United Nations." Indeed, the Croatian mission precipitated the most intense firefight in which Canadian troops had engaged since the Korean War. Operationally, it signaled a seismic shift, as the U.N. transitioned from traditional peacekeeping into the ambiguous and inherently dangerous world of peacemaking and enforcement. Tragically, it also introduced the world to the term "ethnic cleansing."

The Princess Pats spent the early months of their Croatian tour in the relative quiet of Sector West, but the battalion was gradually transferred to Sector South that summer. They were walking into a hornet's nest. "Sector South was a far more volatile and demanding sector," Calvin conceded to Canadian senators. "Open warfare was going on here. Artillery shelling was a daily occurrence. Shots were being fired. Tank fire was being fired on a daily basis." He later admitted to a military board of inquiry, "Peace is a relative term in the former Yugoslavia—and, in fact, in 1993 it was something of a joke."



Serb gunners atop the Obrovac heights target Croat positions in Krajina with mountain howitzers.

A conspicuously marked, French-operated Renault VAB armored personnel carrier escorts a convoy of U.N. food trucks.



This was the violent world the Princess Pats entered that first week of September 1993. Few understood the depth of historic hatred in the region. “The moors, valleys and woodlands of central Croatia resonate with dark, bloody history,” wrote Canadian journalist and author Carol Off. “Legends of clan warfare and revenge twist and turn through local folklore.”

For centuries Kninska Krajina, an arc of land along Croatia’s southern border with Bosnia and Herzegovina, has been a battleground. The very word *krajina* means “frontier.” Historically, it had been a perpetually contested no man’s land between the Ottoman and Austro-Hungarian empires. In the 1990s it marked the frontier between Croats and Serbs during the disintegration of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia.

First Croatia declared independence from Yugoslavia, then the Serb-dominated Krajina seceded from Croatia. By year’s end 1991 the fighting forces of the newly independent Republic of Croatia were battling Serbian militia of the even younger breakaway Republic of Serbian Krajina.

Two years later in the active combat zone that was Sector South, the force known to the U.N. as Canadian Battalion 1 (CANBAT 1)—comprising 2 Battalion Princess Pats and supporting troops, with two French mechanized companies (FREBAT 1 and 3) under operational control—was tasked to separate the ethnic belligerents.

The Medak Pocket was a salient about 2.5 miles wide and extending north nearly 4 miles into the Croatian lines. Centered on the namesake town, the pocket enabled Serbian artillery to shell the Croatian military and administrative center of Gospi.

CANBAT 1 had the heaviest equipment available to the United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR), including eight TOW anti-tank systems mounted on M113s and nearly 80 other APCs armed with .50-caliber machine guns. The riflemen were supported by C9 light machine guns, C6 general purpose machine guns and Carl Gustaf anti-tank recoilless rifles. The unit traveled without its mortars, as the tubes had already been sent back to Canada in anticipation of the unit’s forthcoming rotation home. Otherwise well-armed and fully mechanized, the Canadians were the best equipped troops UNPROFOR could deploy in Yugoslavia.

Overall, however, Canadian forces were shrinking under the pressure of domestic budget cuts, as the government slashed federal spending to reduce the national debt. CANBAT 1, as Calvin later explained to Canadian senators, had an extraordinary number of



Harder Hat

When fighting breaks out, U.N. peacekeepers swap out their berets for more protective blue helmets. The color of the helmet immediately identifies the wearer to civilians and helps prevent the snipers of combatant armies from accidentally targeting peacekeepers.



Top: A Serb fighter lays a booby trap in a wooded area separating the opposing forces. Bottom: Snipers on either side targeted troops and civilians alike—and occasionally U.N. peacekeepers.



absorbed casualties from indirect fire without the ability to hit back.

Even as the Croatian offensive gained ground, representatives of the various factions were engaged in complex cease-fire negotiations in Zagreb. After the Serbs began shelling Karlovac and hit Zagreb with a FROG-7 missile, the diplomats ultimately worked out an agreement calling for the Croats to retreat to their September 9 start line and the Serbs to demilitarize the Krajina. Simultaneously, U.N. forces would occupy the Medak Pocket, creating a buffer zone between the belligerents.

On September 15 UNPROFOR's French commander, Gen. Jean Cot, choppered into the Krajina to meet with Calvin. Earlier that year the U.N. had suffered humiliation when UNPROFOR forces—French conscripts—bolted under a Croatian offensive. The French had suffered 15 casualties, two fatal, before abandoning their positions and the local Serbian population. Calvin later summarized his takeaway from the meeting with Cot: “In his assessment it was absolutely essential that the U.N. have a successful operation and succeed in estab-

lishing the buffer zone....it was critical that we show that we could actually enforce our will and make this buffer zone work.”

Ominously, Cot added a final warning: Violent confrontation, even combat, was a distinct possibility. The Croats would be loath to surrender ground for which they had so recently fought, and Cot wasn't certain local commanders were even aware of the agreement negotiated by the diplomats 125 miles away in Zagreb.

The Princess Pats' after-action report details a four-part operation. First, Company C and FREBAT 1 would occupy the Serbian front lines. Company C, supported by engineers, with overlook and fire support available from the anti-armor platoon, would then establish itself in no-man's-land. Next, Company D and FREBAT 3 would pass through Company C and occupy the Croatian front lines, with the reconnaissance platoon and tactical HQ following. Once in place, U.N. forces would oversee the Croatian withdrawal to

the September 9 start line.

On the morning of September 15, as Company C's 9th Platoon advanced with FREBAT 1 on its right, both came under fire from the Croatian main defensive line. “We popped up our [U.N.] flags,” recalled Green. “We

reservists. The nucleus of the Princess Pats regulars numbered only 325, or 37 percent of the battalion's overall strength. “We were augmented by other regular force soldiers like cooks, maintainers and medical assistants to the tune of 19 percent. That left a full 44 percent of our contingent who were reserve soldiers, whom we would take over with only two and a half months of training.” Lacking specialist training, the reservists were concentrated in the combat infantry. Almost half of the Canadian troops had never experienced an overseas deployment, let alone combat. Their mettle had yet to be tested.

Just before dawn on Sept. 9, 1993, Croatian forces attacked the Medak Pocket. Supported by armor, light infantry advanced over the rugged karst cliffs of the Velebit Mountains southwest of Medak.

According to 9th Platoon reports, 500 artillery rounds landed in Medak in the first 24 hours of the offensive, wounding two of Lt. Tyrone Green's platoon. Miles behind the front two other Canadians were wounded by shrapnel when Croatian mortar rounds bracketed their truck. Frustratingly lacking air and artillery support and even mortars, the Canadians

Operation Medak Pocket

2,500+
CROATIAN TROOPS
10
KILLED
84 WOUNDED

875
UNPROFOR TROOPS
11
WOUNDED
800
SERBIAN TROOPS
52
KILLED
PLUS: 36 CIVILIANS KILLED



Fitted with a bulldozer blade for obstacle clearance, a Serb-operated T-55A tank approaches a U.N. enclave. Below: A U.N. armored vehicle patrols a ruined street in the former Yugoslavia.

started moving out. We started receiving machine gun fire.” Despite the Canadian APCs being painted stark white with U.N. in large black letters and flying U.N. flags from their antennae, the Croats kept up a steady fire. The PPCLI after-action report plainly stated what happened next: “The CANBAT 1 forces returned fire when it was obvious it was directed at them. Fire was responded to in kind.”

Digging in near Pocitelj, 3 miles west of Medak and only 150 yards from the Croatian main defensive line, 8th Platoon had it worst. Dearing recalls coming under “heavy cannon fire—20 mm fire...blowing trees apart.” Master Cpl. Rob Deans was struck by the thunderous noise. “What I remember the most is the crescendo of sound,” he said. “It entirely fills your head, fills your chest with sounds of these rounds being fired at you.” Gunner Tony Spiess also recalled the noise, as well as his elation at finally being able to return fire. “I’m beside the carrier and behind the gun,” he said, “and I opened up, and we just started knocking guys down, the hedgerow that was in front of us, about 200 meters away.”

Engaging that hedgerow earned reservist Pvt. Scott Leblanc, a C9 machine gunner, a mention in dispatches. “[Leblanc] was shooting it like a chain saw,” Dearing later told Canadian Department of Defence historians. “He had to expose himself a bit, so he was catching lots of rounds. Rounds were landing in front of him, underneath his bipod, all around his shoulder, everything... He just beat

the Croats totally out of the hedgerow with a C9.” Dearing, too, earned a mention in dispatches for his professionalism under fire. “One time my gunner wasn’t shooting where I wanted him to shoot, so I grabbed the gun,” the sergeant recalled, “and then I looked over the barrel, and then I could see this guy’s muzzle flash off his AK, and I put four or five tracer [rounds] right on him. Just like that. It was perfect—right in front of my barrel. If anybody I smoked, I smoked that guy for sure.

“By now they’re starting to get pissed off,” Dearing continued, “so they’re fighting hard...Hosed them down with



The Great Divorce

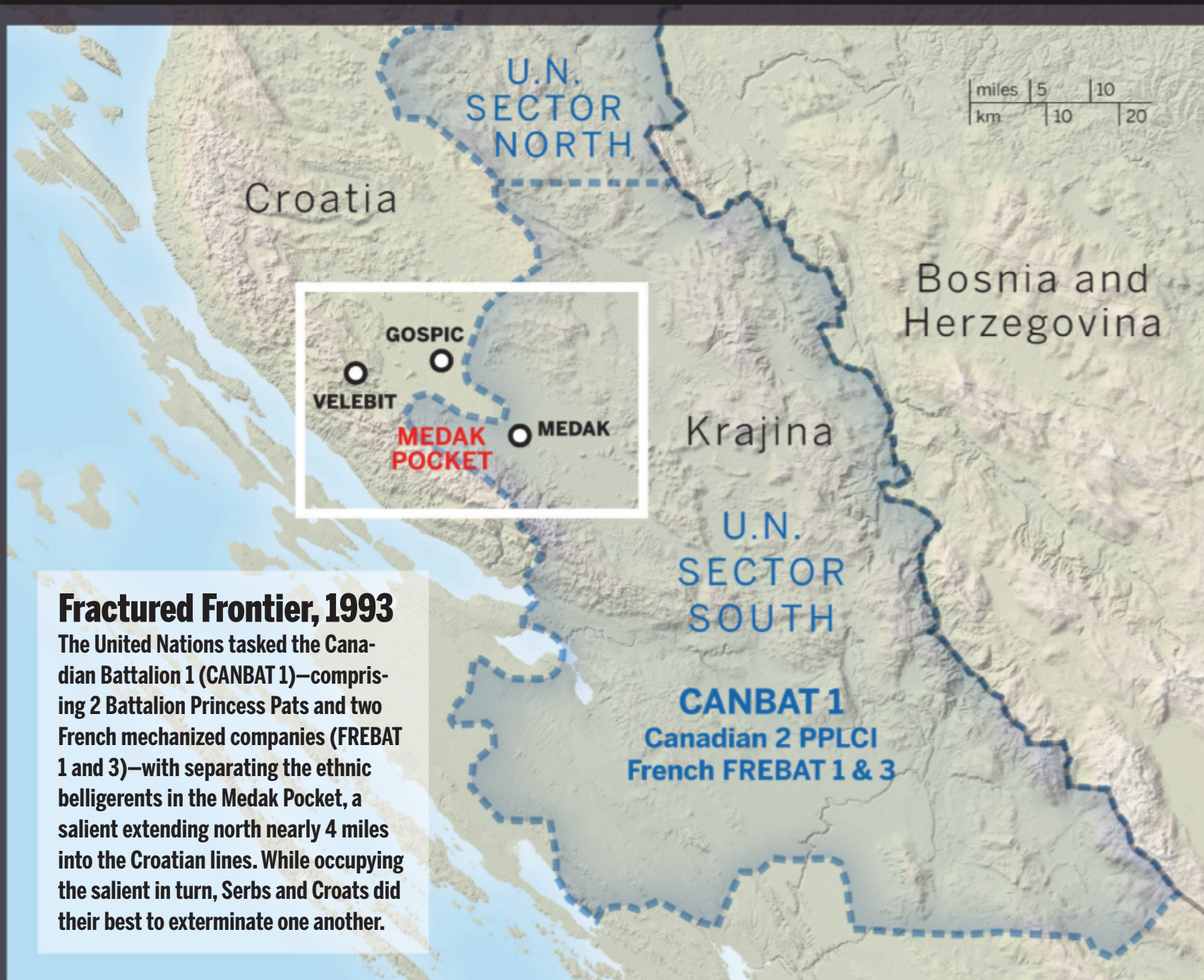
The 1989 dissolution of the Soviet Union and concurrent collapse of communism in Eastern Europe prompted a reawakening of freedom across the region, as countries once politically and ideologically yoked rediscovered their national identities and cultural heritage. Unfortunately, it also reawakened ancient divisions among ethnically disparate peoples, notably in Yugoslavia. That tenuous federation of South Slavs had been cobbled together in the wake of World War I as a bulwark against both German and Russian ambitions. Regardless, for much of the 20th century fascists and communists alike had sought to impose their will, further rending asunder Yugoslavia's people.

In 1991 Croatia and Slovenia were the first of the constituent republics to vote for independence; others followed. But the unresolved status of minority Serbs outside Serbia and Croats outside Croatia soon sparked ethnic conflict. **MH**



Out of One, Many

The first clashes of the Yugoslav wars followed on the heels of the respective independence movements as officials of the socialist federation sought to prevent the inevitable breakup. The violence escalated as Serbs and Croats battled for supremacy, particularly in the patchwork republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina and the bordering territory of Krajina. Enter U.N. peacekeepers.



Fractured Frontier, 1993

The United Nations tasked the Canadian Battalion 1 (CANBAT 1)—comprising 2 Battalion Princess Pats and two French mechanized companies (FREBAT 1 and 3)—with separating the ethnic belligerents in the Medak Pocket, a salient extending north nearly 4 miles into the Croatian lines. While occupying the salient in turn, Serbs and Croats did their best to exterminate one another.

CANBAT 1
Canadian 2 PPLCI
French FREBAT 1 & 3



Into the Pocket

Despite a U.N.-brokered cease-fire, Serbian artillery within the Medak Pocket had continued to shell targets within Croatia. The Croats responded with a September 9–14 assault that drove the Serbs largely from the pocket. As the U.N. peacekeepers sought to create a buffer zone within the pocket, they exchanged fire with Croatian forces. The Croats, meanwhile, scoured the pocket of Serbian people and property.

An injured UNPROFOR soldier is loaded aboard a Canadian M113A2 APC for evacuation to a rear-area hospital.



machine guns, put tons of machine gun fire down there. That stopped that noise.” Intermittent firefights erupted repeatedly until the early morning hours of September 16. The Princess Pats were determined not to back down. “We’re defending this ground,” Deans affirmed. “If they come, they’re going to die.” After 18 hours, as the sky grayed, the firing slacked off.

All morning on September 16, prevented by the cease-fire agreement from advancing until noon, the Canadians impotently witnessed a tragedy unfold behind Croatian lines. “We could see nothing but billowing smoke starting to go up from every one of the villages that we could plot on our maps,” Calvin recalled, “and we started hearing large explosions, and we started hearing small arms fire coming from all over the villages within the pocket itself.... The Croatian army had now started a serious ethnic cleansing session within the pocket, and we were required to sit there and watch for four hours, until noon, before we could actually move to the other side.” When noon came and the U.N. column did move to intervene, it ran up against the Croatian roadblock. A tense hour passed, the men on both



UNPROFOR

Awarded to individuals on completion of 90 consecutive days of service as part of the U.N. Protection Force in the former Yugoslavia, the UNPROFOR medal bears the inscription IN THE SERVICE OF PEACE.

sides scowling and leveling weapons at one another. It was then Calvin sought to turn the spotlight on Croatian interference with the impromptu frontline press conference.

“Calvin’s imaginative ploy was too late to stop the ethnic cleansing of Serb villages in the Medak Pocket,” reflected Canadian military historian Lee Windsor, “but it did allow the blue helmets to reach most of the villages before all traces of Croatian atrocities could be erased.” On the evening of the 16th, as they advanced ever deeper into the pocket, U.N. troops began to encounter the expected evidence of ethnic cleansing.

“We started seeing the ethnic cleansing close up,” Calvin recalled. “The fires were still burning in all of the buildings, with most of the roofs caved in, and there was a loathsome smell of death. As the sun set, with all of this smoke hanging in the air, burning buildings and bodies around, it was really a bizarre scene to drive into.” While the U.N. troops recovered fewer than two dozen bodies in

the immediate aftermath, Croatian authorities later turned over 64 sets of remains, and fields of discarded surgical gloves suggested a hurried effort to clean up and conceal the atrocities.

A U.N. Commission of Experts concurred with Calvin and itemized the devastation on the ground:

There was a clear, obvious and overwhelming pattern of wanton destruction. Hundreds of homes were destroyed, virtually hundreds of other buildings were destroyed, most animals were killed or taken, virtually all personal property was destroyed or taken, all vehicles and farm equipment were destroyed or taken, haystacks were fired and many wells were polluted. Devastation was total.

Even Croatian courts agreed, later convicting both senior officers and enlisted men of a host of offenses, including war crimes, murder and arson.

CANBAT 1 had achieved its objective—it had established a buffer zone. But the zone was an uninhabitable wasteland. Serbs had driven out or exterminated the Croatian population and destroyed their property, and during their brief occupation the Croats had likewise targeted Serb civilians and assets. The front lines had been restored, but the buffer zone had been depopulated. The diplomats had allowed the Croats to delay their withdrawal, and the Croats used the time to put the Medak Pocket to the torch, rendering the Canadian-led Operation Harmony, literally and figuratively, a Pyrrhic victory.

In the view of U.N. higher-ups, the operation had restored the organization's reputation. According to Canadian Col. George Oehring, the subsequent commander of UNPROFOR Sector South, the Princess Pats “won for the whole mission a credibility and respect that will be long remembered by the opposing parties and much facilitate our future efforts here.” But in this haunted region the memories of ethnic cleansing will long outlast remembrance of the Princess Pats' combat effectiveness.

Even in Canada the ghosts of the Medak Pocket linger. Observers at the Maslenica Bridge outpost later discovered the weird red soil they had used to fill sandbags was tainted by toxic bauxite. Their attempts to obtain relief from ensuing chronic medical conditions are ongoing. Rumors also emerged that troops had attempted to poison two of their officers, as they believed he was placing them in unnecessary danger by maintaining overlook on the bridge. Finally, and inevitably, many of the veterans are struggling with post-traumatic stress disorder.

The Canadian military's unwillingness to address such issues only exacerbated the problem. Six months before the Medak Pocket clash two Canadian soldiers in Somalia had tortured and killed an intruder suspected of stealing from the peacekeepers' base. The murder prompted widespread shock and indignation, magnified by the military's subsequent attempts to cover up the incident. Public opprobrium and a generalized Canadian disdain for the military meant the brass hats had no interest in discussing



Top: Lt. Col. Jim Calvin of 2 Bn., PPCLI, holds a heated news conference that prompts Croatian troops to abandon an illegal roadblock. Above: U.N. troops evacuate Croat civilians from Serb-dominated territory.

their peacekeepers' actions in Croatia while the Somalia cover-up was unraveling.

The Croatian government was also understandably eager to suppress reports from the Medak Pocket. Seeking international recognition, President Tudjman had no interest in publicizing his countrymen's resistance to the

‘The fires were still burning in all of the buildings...and there was a loathsome smell of death’

U.N. to accomplish ethnic cleansing. Thus the battle has slipped into obscurity. But the silence cannot mask the significance of the shift from peacekeeping to peace-making, from the calm of Cyprus to the chaos of Syria and Afghanistan, nor the appalling persistence of ethnic cleansing as a weapon of war in the 21st century. **MH**

Bob Gordon is a Canada-based historian. For further reading he recommends The Ghosts of Medak Pocket, by Carol Off, and Fortune Favours the Brave, edited by Bernd Horn.

Damaged by anti-aircraft fire,
a Yokosuka D4Y3 dive bomber
turned kamikaze piloted by Lt.
Yoshinori Yamaguchi targets
the flight deck of the carrier
USS Essex on Nov. 25, 1944.



DEATH BEFORE DISHONOR

As World War II turned against Japan, its military resorted to weapons beyond desperation

By Jon Guttman

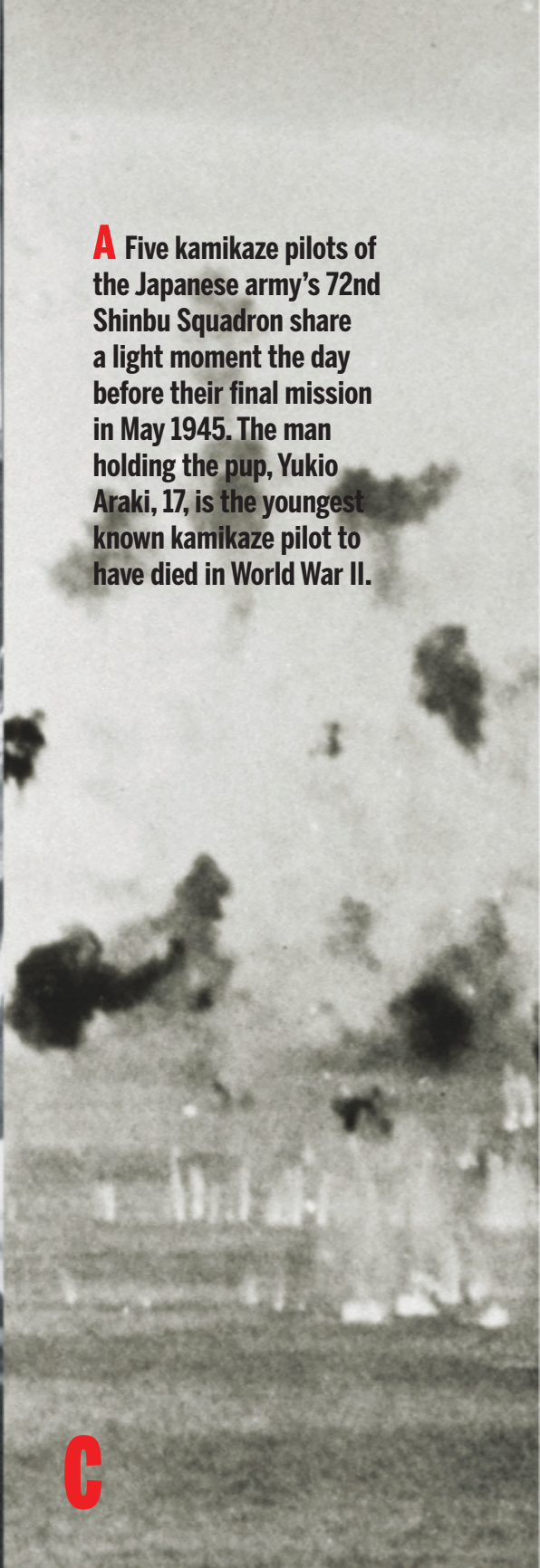
Throughout human history warriors have accepted death as an occupational hazard, just as warriors of all empires and nations have respected acts of courage and sacrifice. Only the Japanese fighting man, however, made such a cult of death as to regard it as a favorable alternative to any real or perceived dishonor—and only the Japanese adapted that readiness to mass suicide as a weapon in itself.

Although Japanese officers had considered suicide weaponry as early as 1943, it was not until the fall of the Marianas the next year, which brought American bombers within range of the Home Islands, that both the Japanese army and navy devoted serious attention to such desperate measures. Scattered suicide air attacks began in September 1944, but it was an October 25 attack by five Mitsubishi A6M Zeros in the Philippines, which sank the escort carrier *St. Lô* and damaged several other flattops, that put the seal of approval on airborne *kamikaze* (“divine wind,” a reference to typhoons that scattered a 13th century Mongol invasion fleet). The Japanese employed a variety of other *tokko* (*tokubetsu kogeiki*, or “special attack”) weapons, including *Kaiten* manned torpedoes, *Shinyo* motorboats and *Fukuryu* frogmen. But none matched the effectiveness of conventional aircraft pressed into suicide service, which through war’s end sank upward of four dozen U.S. vessels and damaged hundreds more.

The kamikaze effort climaxed during the April–June 1945 Battle of Okinawa with 10 massed waves of suicide planes dubbed *kikusui* (“floating chrysanthemums”). For all the damage they inflicted, however, the *tokko* campaign failed to stave off Japan’s ultimate defeat. **MH**



A Five kamikaze pilots of the Japanese army's 72nd Shinbu Squadron share a light moment the day before their final mission in May 1945. The man holding the pup, Yukio Araki, 17, is the youngest known kamikaze pilot to have died in World War II.

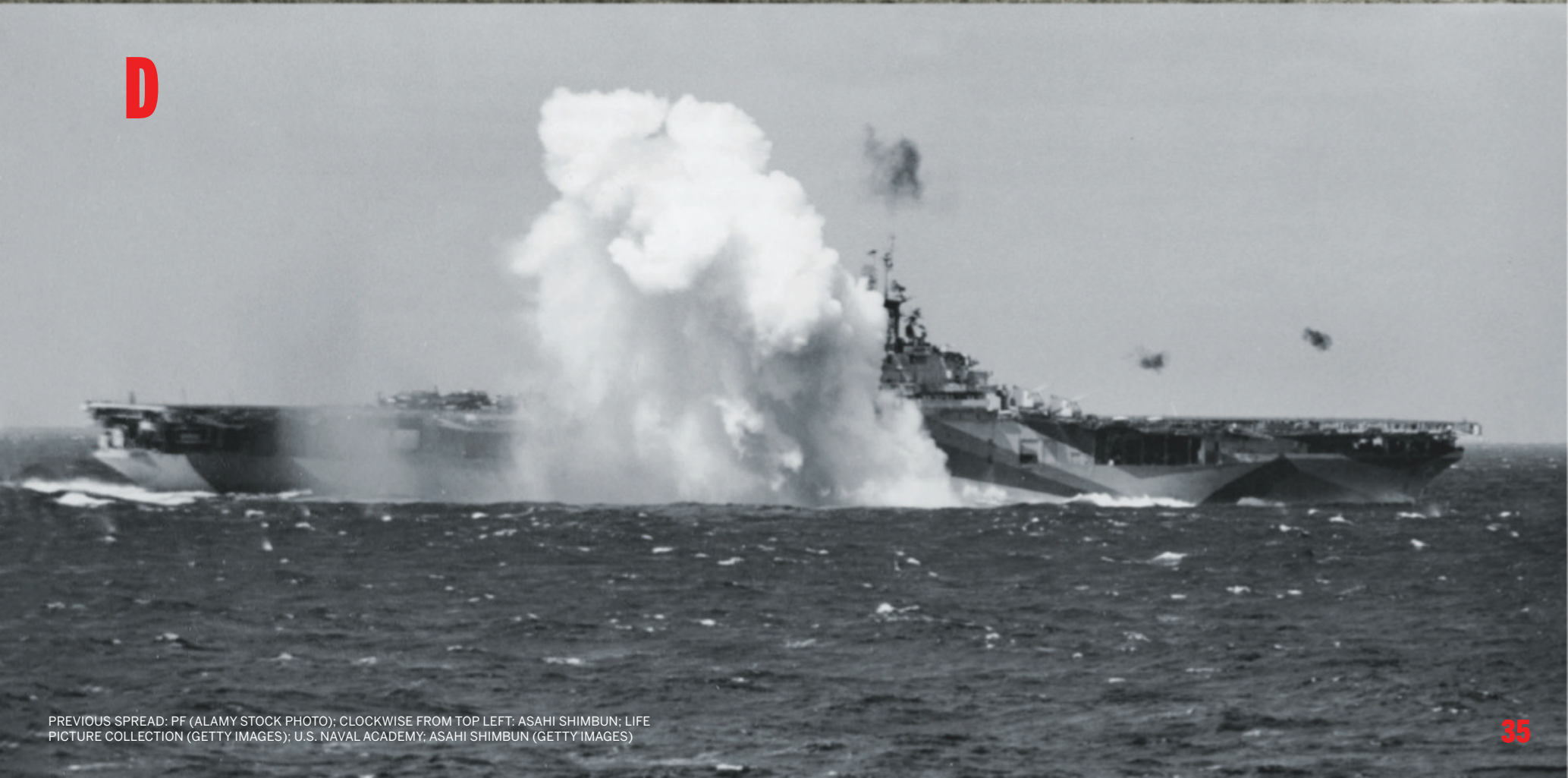


DEATH BEFORE DISHONOR

B Gathered in the officers' mess at their airfield in Caloocan, near the Philippine capital of Manila, kamikaze pilots decked out in flight gear drink a ceremonial toast with sake before taking off to engage approaching Allied warships in 1944.

C A kamikaze aiming for the battleship *Texas* off Okinawa in March 1945 encounters both airburst flak and .50-caliber, 20 mm and 40 mm automatic weapons fire. His aircraft was hit and crashed into the sea moments after the photo was taken.

D Off Japanese-held Formosa on Jan. 21, 1945, the *Essex*-class aircraft carrier *Ticonderoga* was hit by two kamikazes within the space of an hour. The attack killed 144 men and injured some 200, but the ship was repaired and returned to combat.



E Like *Ticonderoga*, the carrier *Bunker Hill* was hit by two kamikazes in quick succession. The attack came on May 11, 1945, off Okinawa and killed nearly 400 of the ship's crew. The carrier survived but saw no further World War II action.

F Gunners on the battleship *New Jersey* watch as the carrier *Intrepid* burns after being hit by the second of two kamikazes on Nov. 25, 1944, off Luzon. The ship survived—as it had a kamikaze hit a month earlier—but 66 crewmen were killed.



DEATH BEFORE DISHONOR

G Kamikaze pilot Yamaguchi's D4Y3 dive bomber strike against *Essex* on Nov. 25, 1944, as the U.S. carrier operated off the northern Philippines, killed 15 crewmen and wounded 44. Regardless, the ship was quickly repaired and remained in action.

H Crewmen survey the damage caused by a kamikaze strike against the carrier *Randolph* as it rode at anchor in the vast lagoon at Ulithi, in the Caroline Islands, on March 11, 1945. Twenty-seven men died and more than 100 were wounded in the attack.





In this photo taken by sailor Harold Campbell, a Mitsubishi A6M “Zero”—likely flown by 19-year-old Setsuo Ishino—is about to hit the starboard side of the battleship *Missouri* off Okinawa on April 11, 1945. The attack caused little damage and no American casualties. The impact mark is still visible aboard *Missouri*, a museum ship at Pearl Harbor, Hawaii.

J Effective damage-control procedures and well-trained firefighting crews—such as these men aboard the carrier *Intrepid*—saved many a ship hit by kamikazes.

K On May 4, 1945, off the Ryukyus a kamikaze just missed the escort carrier *Sangamon*, hitting the sea 25 feet from the ship’s starboard side. Within a half-hour a second suicide attack killed 11 sailors and knocked the carrier out of the last months of the war.



DEATH BEFORE DISHONOR

L In March 1945 Japan sought to increase the effectiveness of its kamikaze effort by rolling out the Yokosuka MXY-7 *Ohka* ("Cherry Blossom") manned, rocket-powered flying bomb. Dropped from a modified bomber, the *Ohka* glided most of the way to its target, at which point the pilot fired its rocket motors. The weapon sank one U.S. destroyer and damaged at least seven other ships, but it appeared too late to alter the course of the war.

M While exact numbers are difficult to determine, kamikaze aircraft attacks are generally believed to have sunk approximately four dozen Allied vessels and damaged hundreds of others. Some 3,800 Japanese pilots died in kamikaze attacks, which resulted in the death or injury of upward of 7,000 Allied personnel.

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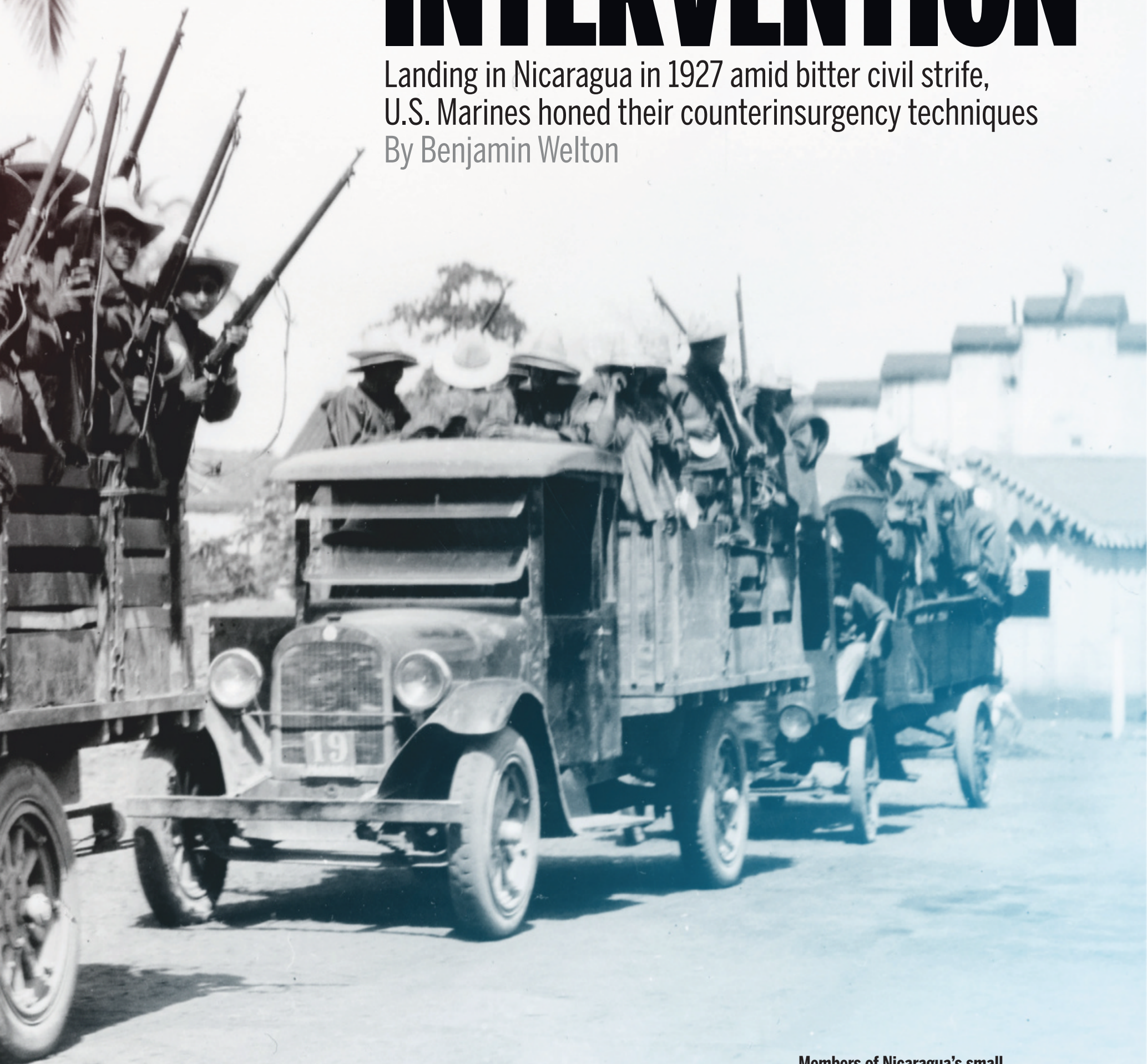
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UNCLE SAM'S INTERVENTION

Landing in Nicaragua in 1927 amid bitter civil strife,
U.S. Marines honed their counterinsurgency techniques

By Benjamin Welton



Members of Nicaragua's small constabulary—a force led by U.S. Marine officers and NCOs—move out to combat Sandinistas.



The .45-caliber M1928A1 Thompson submachine gun gave U.S. Marines in Nicaragua significant firepower, especially in jungle ambushes.

The United States became an imperial power almost by accident. On Feb. 15, 1898, the armored cruiser USS *Maine* exploded in Havana Harbor. A month later, following an official investigation into the matter, a Navy board of inquiry concluded a mine had sunk the vessel, thus implicating Spain, Cuba's overlord. On the heels of that decision the United States declared war on one of Europe's oldest empires. In the Spanish-American War, naval supremacy was to prove decisive.

In *Banana Wars* naval historian Ivan Musicant asserts, "The American naval renaissance and the rise of the United States as an empire and world arbiter were parallel and symbiotic." Unlike the U.S. Army, which bumbled into the conflict with poor logistics, outdated rifles and tins upon tins of contaminated meat, the Navy, with its augmented fleet of cruisers, revenue cutters, gunboats, armed tugs and yachts, supply and repair vessels and colliers, successfully routed a Spanish fleet that had seen better days. The Navy's crowning achievement occurred on May 1, when Commodore George Dewey's Asiatic Squadron took Manila Bay in a single day. Soon thereafter prominent citizens in New York and San Francisco erected the Dewey Arch in Madison Square and Dewey Monument in Union Square, respectively, as symbols of U.S. naval might.

Imbued with confidence and a fleet that could stand up to a first-class European navy, President Theodore Roosevelt, among the great cheerleaders of American imperialism, added the Roosevelt Corollary to the Monroe Doctrine, warning European nations to refrain from future interference in Latin American affairs. "Chronic wrongdoing, or an impotence that results in a general loosening of the ties of civilized society," he proclaimed in a 1904 address to Congress, "may force the United States, however reluctantly...to the exercise of an international police power." From then until the 1930s—when President Herbert Hoover issued the Clark Memorandum, stepping away from interventionism, and another president named Roosevelt enacted the Good Neighbor policy, calling for political and eco-

nomic détente with Latin America—the United States was the undisputed master of the Western Hemisphere.

America's hemispheric influence saw its apogee in the 1920s. Although the Roaring Twenties are often seen as an age of isolationism, the truth is the Navy and Marines were quite active in Haiti, Honduras and the Dominican Republic. But no state saw more American boots on the ground than Nicaragua.

America's troubled relationship with Nicaragua has its origins in 1854, when a civil war broke out and pitted two political factions against each other. The liberal Democratic Party, centered in the city of León, feared that the conservative Legitimist Party, based in Granada, would soon take full control of Nicaraguan politics. The liberals, headed by Francisco Castellón, contracted the services of an American filibuster (or military adventurer) from Tennessee. That filibuster was none other than William Walker, an enigmatic warlord who in 1853 had very nearly succeeded in turning Baja California into his own private fiefdom. Before sailing for Nicaragua from San Francisco, Walker promised his recruits up to \$30 a month and a bonus of 250 acres of public land after six months' service. Fifty-seven American and foreign mercenaries signed up, and between 1855 and '56 Walker's American Phalanx defeated the Legitimist forces in several small battles.

On July 12, 1856, Walker had himself inaugurated as the president of Nicaragua, and remarkably enough U.S. President Franklin Pierce recognized his government. To rub salt into the wounds, Walker staged his inauguration in the conservative capital of Granada.

Walker's tenure as the most powerful man in Nicaragua did not last long. The gray-eyed filibuster—considered a social democrat by such European intellectuals as Swiss engineer Arnold Bürkli—was ultimately defeated by a coalition of Central American states during the campaigns of 1856–57. Walker managed to save his skin for a few years by surrendering to a U.S. Navy commander, but on his unwelcome return to Honduras' Bay Islands in 1860, British naval authorities took Walker into custody and promptly handed him over to Honduran authorities. On Sept. 12, 1860, a Honduran firing squad executed the 36-year-old man who would be king.

Decades later the legacy of Walker still burned in the hearts and minds of many Nicaraguans. Similarly, the



William Walker



bad blood between liberals and conservatives did not dissipate after Walker's death, and indeed the rivalry flared up again in 1926. Following a U.S.-supervised election in 1924, Emiliano Chamorro Vargas—who had been the country's president from 1917 until 1921—led his ultra-conservative partisans in a successful coup, seizing Loma Fortress in the capital of Managua, forcing the resignation of President Carlos José Solórzano and booting all liberals from Congress. As yet another civil war broke out and liberal rebels attacked the Caribbean coastal city of Bluefields, the U.S. Navy steamed south with a contingent of Marines assigned to protect American lives and property. They made landfall on Jan. 24, 1927. Mexico, or more correctly the left-wing Mexican Revolution, which the administration of President Calvin Coolidge feared might be exported to Nicaragua, provided further impetus for the intervention. That spring Coolidge sent statesman-soldier Henry L. Stimson to broker a peace deal that called for a U.S.-sponsored presidential election in 1928. Conservatives and liberals alike were called on to hand over their weapons to the Marines. All consented, except for one liberal revolutionary—Augusto César Sandino.

The illegitimate son of a Spanish landowner and an indigenous servant girl, Sandino was homeschooled and then spent several years as an itinerant worker. Following a bloody dust-up with the son of a prominent conservative politico, the 26-year-old firebrand fled to Tampico, Mex-

In the midst of a civil war liberal revolutionary Augusto César Sandino (center) also battled intervening U.S. Marines, his bravado captivating anti-American audiences in the republics of Central and South America.

ico. While there, between shifts at the Standard Oil refinery, Sandino imbibed the heady brew of revolution, taking inspiration from the anti-imperialism and anticlericalism of Mexican communists, the anarchism of American labor unionists and Indo-Hispanic nationalism. Sandino was

The U.S. Navy steamed south with a contingent of Marines to protect American lives

both a mystic and a revolutionary, and his one-man war against the Marines captivated anti-American audiences in the republics of Central and South America.

Initially, U.S. officials in Nicaragua considered Sandino and his men mere bandits. Reports from 1927 and 1928 consistently estimate his "army" scarcely numbered more than 100 men, with its area of operation confined to the northern border with Honduras. Military authorities believed Nicaragua's small national guard, an apolitical constabulary led by Marine officers and noncommissioned officers, could adequately deal with the threat.

Top: Future Marine Corps legend Lewis “Chesty” Puller (second from left) and a fellow officer pose with Nicaraguan soldiers. Middle: The Marines’ accommodations were basic. Bottom: Marine aircraft carried supplies, evacuated wounded and provided close air support.

Sandino shattered that illusion at the Battle of Ocotal on July 16, 1927. The clash broke out at 1:15 a.m., when one of the 37 Marines stationed in town noticed shadowy bands of men gathering outside a church near the plaza. The Sandinistas, numbering upward of 400 men, began the attack by screaming “*Viva Sandino!*” and throwing bombs at the Americans. The guerrillas got close to City Hall—where the Marines and nearly 50 national guard soldiers were garrisoned—before steady machine gun, rifle and rifle grenade fire forced them back. As the fighting dragged on into the daylight hours, the outnumbered Marines seemed fated to a long siege. But patrolling Marine aviators flying five De Haviland DH.4 biplanes had gotten wind of the disturbance. Shortly before 3 p.m. they began dive-bombing the Sandinistas, who scattered

in panic. By 5 p.m. only a few enemy snipers remained to be cleaned up. In fending off the frontal assault, the Marines and national guardsmen had cut down as many as 100 rebels for the loss of one killed and a handful wounded.

Following their fiasco at Ocotal the Sandinistas never again dared face the Marines in open combat. Instead, their war devolved into a guerrilla insurgency, with the rebels ambushing small bands of Marines and guardsmen that were patrolling the jungles and mountains of Nicaragua’s interior. Such warfare benefitted Sandino and his men, many of whom were part-time soldiers, paid a few dollars a day to wield machetes. Hoping for a knockout blow that fall, the Marines sent a large force against El Chipote, Sandino’s mountain headquarters near the Honduran border in the Nuevo Segovia department. Between September and October a mixed force of Marines and national guardsmen mounted an offensive against some 250 Sandinistas holed up in and around

El Chipote. Marine aviators flew reconnaissance and close air support missions to provide overwatch for the ground troops. The American-led force ultimately managed to capture El Chipote, though by then Sandino and most of his men had vanished into the jungle.

Despite losing on the ground, Sandino scored several propaganda victories during the El Chipote offensive. One came when Marine 2nd Lt. Earl A. Thomas was forced to crash-land his DH.4 after the aircraft was struck and disabled by Sandinista ground fire. Thomas and observer Sgt. Frank E. Dowdell were killed on the ground



For Service

Authorized by Congress in 1929, the U.S. Navy’s Second Nicaraguan Campaign Medal was awarded to Navy and Marine personnel who served or supported operations in Nicaragua between Aug. 27, 1926, and Jan. 2, 1933.



The April 1928 death of American mine manager George B. Marshall (possibly of malaria) while in Sandinista captivity prompted a major Marine punitive expedition in northeastern Nicaragua.



during a firefight with rebels, who sent to newspapers in Honduras and Mexico a gruesome photograph of Thomas' body hanging from a tree.

Frustrated Marine officers realized putting down the Sandino affair would require some creativity. Among the more successful initiatives revolved around future Marine Corps legend Merritt A. "Red Mike" Edson. In early 1928, resolving to deny Sandino control of the strategically significant Coco River, the red-bearded captain and his 160-man Marine detachment linked up with the coastal Miskito people. Leveraging the traditional animosity between the Spanish-speaking *Ladinos* of the interior and the Anglophile mixed-race Miskitos, Edson's Marine patrols used Miskito guides and boats to penetrate deep into pro-Sandinista territory. In response the Sandinistas raided coffee plantations and stores owned by Americans and Europeans while threatening violent reprisals and/or death to any local with pro-American sympathies. Among the rebels' favored execution methods were the *corte de cumbo* (top hat cut), in which a victim tied to a tree had the top of his skull hacked open by a machete, and the *corte de blumers* (bloomers cut), in which a victim had his legs cut off at the knees, followed by his hands, and was left to bleed to death.

While Edson's Rio Coco patrol proved successful in keeping the rebels on the run and even seizing the San-

dinista stronghold of Poteca and killing one of Sandino's chief officers, the unit was nevertheless disbanded in 1929. The incoming Hoover administration wanted a clean end to the mess in Nicaragua and, in the wake of the largely peaceful elections of 1928, had promised the new government a withdrawal of most of the Marines by year's end 1930.

The other major military innovation came courtesy Marine Col. Douglas McDougal. In March 1929, recognizing Washington wanted the Nicaraguan national guard to take over offensive operations during the phaseout of the Marines, the newly



Marines—including Puller, at right—display a Sandinista flag captured during a clash late in the conflict.



Tactical Takeaways

Hire Guns Carefully

Facing a wholesale loss of power, Nicaraguan liberals tapped American mercenary William Walker, who took over the country.

Fight Like With Like

Regular forces are ill-prepared to handle guerrilla insurgencies. Marine mobile forces fared far better against the Sandinista rebels.

Know When to Exit

Even a succession of U.S.-supported liberal presidents was unable to end the insurgency. Leaving the country to its fate, the last Marines left in 1933.

arrived McDougal created the 1st Mobile Battalion. Initially comprising 200 national guard troops led by 14 Marine officers, the battalion was split into several mobile columns dedicated to harassing Sandinistas up north. That summer McDougal selected 60 men for an elite mobile column under the command of Capt. Herman Hanneken, a legendary Marine who'd received the Medal of Honor for killing Haitian guerrilla leader Charlemagne Peralte in 1919. Redesignated Company M, it became the most feared mobile column of the American intervention. Soon leading it in the field was another future Marine legend, Lt. Lewis "Chesty" Puller, himself a veteran of the occupation of Haiti.

Company M took the battle to Sandino in and around Jinotega, capital of the namesake department and the most strategically important city in north-central Nicaragua. Spending some 20 days of every month in the field, Puller's men conducted long-range reconnaissance patrols that averaged 30 miles a day and required them to live off of the land. Unlike other Marine officers, the bullish young lieutenant had the complete trust and loyalty of the Nicaraguan soldiers beneath him. His fear-

lessness in combat earned Puller the nickname "Tiger of the Mountains."

But even his success in the field could not stem the steady stream of Marines leaving Nicaragua. By the summer of 1930 Company M had been reduced to just two Marine officers (Puller and Lt. William Lee) and fewer than three dozen national guardsmen. Sandino's rebellion remained active and was still claiming American and Nicaraguan lives. Indeed, that New Year's Eve a force of 100 Sandinistas ambushed a 10-man Marine patrol northeast of Ocotal, killing eight and wounding two. Ratcheting up the tension was the looming 1932 presidential election, a process somehow to be guaranteed by a Marine force numbering less than 1,000 men.

The last scrape of the war in Nicaragua came in that election year. In late December outgoing liberal president José María Moncada (Sandino's former commanding officer) sought to extend hope to his troubled nation by driving a golden spike to mark completion of a railroad linking León and El Sauce. Word spread Sandino aimed to disrupt the ceremony with a full-scale battle, so Puller, Lee and a half-dozen other Marine officers gathered 64 national guardsmen and boarded a train for El Sauce. Their goal was to disrupt Sandino's planned disruption.

The day after Christmas the train carrying Company M came upon a band of some 250 Sandinistas looting the



Top: A Marine major shares a laugh with Nicaraguan President José María Moncada, whose 1929 election the United States supported. Bottom: At Moncada's request Marines escorted ballot boxes during the 1933 election.



railroad commissary outside El Sauce. The fight erupted as rebels on both sides of the tracks opened up on the train, forcing Puller and his men from their carriages. Half the guardsmen formed up on the right under Puller, the other half on the left under Lee. From the shelter of a dry creek bed Lee's men pinned down the Sandinistas, while Puller's team sought to turn the enemy's flank. The decisive moment came when Cpl. Bennie M. Bunn charged the Sandinista left with his Browning automatic rifle, laying down accurate fire and prompting a general rout. The Battle of El Sauce lasted barely an hour. The Sandinistas left behind 31 corpses along the tracks and likely dragged off other casualties, while the national guard lost three dead and three wounded. In gratitude President Moncada promoted Puller to major and Lee to captain in the guard. Regardless, both officers, as well as the remaining Marines, left Nicaragua for good in January 1933.

By 1933 neither the Marines nor Sandino had managed to end the civil war in Nicaragua. A pro-American government ruled Managua, but Sandino controlled the interior and large swaths of the Atlantic coast. The country was at a stalemate. So that February, a month after the U.S. pullout, Sandino traveled to Managua to discuss a cease-fire with President Juan Bautista Sacasa.

On the other side of the negotiating table beside Sacasa was national guard commander Anatasio Somoza, who listened in silence as Sandino denounced the guard as a criminal institution and argued for its disbandment. Somoza did not forget the insult. When Sacasa and Sandino met again in Managua a year later, Somoza sprang a trap. Around 10 p.m. on Feb. 21, 1934, as Sandino, his brother and two Sandinista generals left the presidential palace, national guardsmen stopped their car, dragged them off to a nearby military airfield and executed them. Sandino's body was never found. A day later guardsmen overran the main Sandinista camp up north, killing or disarming the remaining rebels over the following weeks. In 1936 Somoza overthrew Sacasa and assumed the presidency. He ruled Nicaragua as a dictator, largely uninterrupted, until his own assassination in 1956.

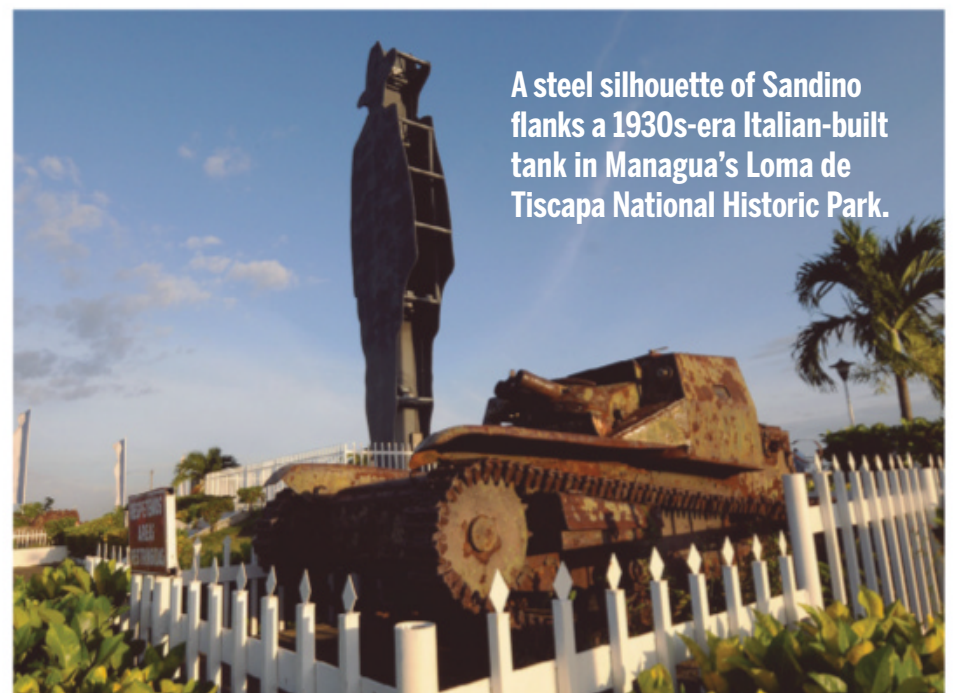
Augusto Sandino remains a hero to the left in Latin America. In Nicaragua he is the enduring symbol of resistance to U.S. interventionism, thus it is no surprise the largest left-wing party in Nicaragua is known as the Sandinista National Liberation Front. As for the Americans and the fighting Marines, their bloody 1927–33 intervention is hardly remembered at all. **MH**

Benjamin Welton is a Boston-based history doctoral candidate and freelance writer. For further reading he recommends The Sandino Affair, by Neill Macaulay; The Banana Wars, by Ivan Musicant; The Savage Wars of Peace, by Max Boot; and Chesty: The Story of Lieutenant General Lewis B. Puller, by Col. Jon T. Hoffman.



Corps Icon

The most decorated Marine in U.S. history, Lewis B. "Chesty" Puller won the first two of his five Navy Crosses as a young officer in Nicaragua. He went on to see combat in both World War II and Korea, retiring in 1955 as a lieutenant general.



A steel silhouette of Sandino flanks a 1930s-era Italian-built tank in Managua's Loma de Tiscapa National Historic Park.



The Christians' monthslong siege of the Muslim garrison at Antioch in 1098, which brought violence and misery to both sides, proved to have major historical significance.

THE CRUCIBLE OF ANTIOCH

Fortunes turned for the opposing Christian and Muslim armies in this pivotal clash of the 1095–99 First Crusade

By Brian M. English





In 1095 Pope Urban II called on knights to liberate their fellow Christians and the Holy City of Jerusalem. Below: Many Crusaders wielded broadswords of this impressive type.



As the Bridge Gate of Antioch swung open on June 28, 1098, arrows rained down on the grimly determined Christian column advancing out of the city. These soldiers of the First Crusade had besieged Muslim-held Antioch for more than seven months before finally taking the city, only to be immediately besieged themselves by a massive Muslim army. Within a month, facing defeat through starvation, their leaders had decided to venture outside the walls and do battle. Conquer or die, the coming confrontation would mark the final act in the saga of the conquest of Antioch.

Following a series of disastrous reversals in Asia Minor (present-day eastern and central Turkey) between 1091 and 1095, the Byzantine empire faced an existential threat: The Seljuk Turks, recent converts to Islam, had advanced to within 50 miles of the Byzantine capital of

Constantinople. Emperor Alexius I Comnenus sent a delegation to Pope Urban II in Rome, begging for military support against the Turks. Fortunately for Alexius, Urban and the knights of Western Europe were able and willing to respond. On Nov. 27, 1095, Urban appeared at Clermont in southern France and called on the gathered knights to liberate the Christians of the East and the Holy City of Jerusalem from the Seljuk scourge.

The great army that responded to Urban's call had coalesced in Constantinople by the spring of 1097. It was organized in four "national" contingents, each under the leadership of its respective lords. From northern and central France came Duke Robert of Normandy, son of William the Conqueror; Count Stephen of Blois and Chartres, one of the Conqueror's sons-in-law; Count Hugh of Vermandois, younger brother of King Philip of France; and Count Robert of Flanders. From the northern border area between France and Germany came Godfrey of Bouillon, Duke of Lower Lorraine.

From southern France came Raymond of Saint-Gilles, Count of Toulouse, who, being in his mid-50s, was the oldest of the commanders, as well as the wealthiest. Raymond was the first great lord to “take the cross,” and he shared the leadership of his contingent, probably the largest, with Bishop Adhemar of Le Puy, Pope Urban’s representative on the crusade.

Finally, from Sicily and southern Italy came Normans under Prince Bohemond of Taranto, eldest son of Robert Guiscard, the Norman conqueror of southern Italy and Sicily. Bohemond’s exceptional military ability and resourcefulness would prove invaluable to the Crusaders.

Although the precise number of people who marched in the Crusader host is uncertain, 43,000 is a reasonable estimate. Of that number some 34,500 were warriors (30,000 foot-soldiers and 4,500 mounted knights). The remaining 8,500 were noncombatants—women, children, clergy and elderly male pilgrims.

The Crusader army arrived outside the walls of Antioch on October 21. The city lay little more than a dozen miles inland east of the Mediterranean Sea in northern Syria (present-day south central Turkey). By the time of the First Crusade the city had been in existence some 1,400 years, having been founded in 300 BC by Seleucus I Nicator, among the Macedonian successors to rule Alexander the Great’s fragmented empire. Antioch was especially venerated by Christians, as the first church for gentiles was founded in the city, and it was there disciples of Jesus were first called Christians.

The Eastern Roman Emperor Justinian I had ordered construction of Antioch’s immense walls in the sixth century, and they were repaired in the 10th century by Byzantine engineers. In the north the walls ran along marshy ground adjacent to the south bank of the Orontes River. To the east and west the walls ascended the slopes of Mount Silpius till converging on a citadel at its summit, some 1,440 feet above the city. The Turks had only been able to take Antioch in 1085 because a traitor had opened a gate to them.

The Crusaders held no illusions about taking the city by direct assault. They instead tried to blockade as much of it as possible without dispersing their forces too thinly, hoping the defenders would ultimately capitulate or be betrayed. For his part, Yaghi-Siyan, the governor of Antioch for the past decade, settled for ambushing enemy foraging parties while awaiting a Muslim relief army.

The Christians initially had little trouble feeding themselves, as food was plentiful. By Christmas, however, they had exhausted staples in the valley. On New Year’s Eve a large foraging party under Bohemond and Robert of Flanders found itself in a pitched battle with a Muslim relief army from Damascus. Though the Crusaders prevailed, they returned empty-handed, leaving the men in camp on starvation rations through January 1098. One of every seven Crusaders starved to death, their horses



Straddling a trade route between Antioch and Apamea, al-Bara (in present-day Syria) was conquered in 1098 by Crusaders led by Raymond of Saint-Gilles.

dying in even greater numbers. To escape the misery, increasing numbers of men deserted the siege.

The situation looked grim in early February when the Crusaders learned a large Muslim relief army was advancing west from Aleppo. Against the 12,000 approaching horse archers the Christian army could muster only 700 mounted knights, some of whom had been reduced to riding pack animals or oxen due to the scarcity of horses.

Given his record of military prowess, Bohemond was appointed commander of the sortie. Leaving the infantry to guard camp, he led out the knights to ambush the approaching Turkish army. Bohemond divided his men into six mounted squadrons. Five would charge the enemy,

The situation looked grim when the Crusaders learned a Muslim relief army was advancing

while Bohemond held the sixth in reserve, waiting for the decisive moment when its charge would take the greatest toll. Concealing themselves behind a hill on the road from Aleppo, the Christian horsemen awaited their quarry.

On the morning of February 9 the Muslim relief army approached slowly from the east, two squadrons of cavalry in the lead. As the enemy horsemen neared the point of ambush, Bohemond’s knights charged out with couched lances to strike the Turkish vanguard in the flank, throwing them back in disorder into the main force.

Adept at close-quarters combat, the Crusaders pressed their advantage, but the Turks’ numbers soon stabilized their lines. At that point, with the battle hanging in the

Siege of Antioch

FIRST CRUSADE

34,500
CRUSADERS

2,000
KILLED

60,000+
MUSLIM TROOPS

10,000
KILLED

THOUSANDS MORE DIED DUE
TO STARVATION AND DISEASE

balance, Bohemond's reserve squadron joined the fray and shattered the Turkish formation. The defeated Turks lost upward of 2,000 men on the field and in the subsequent rout. Bohemond's victory in the Battle of the Lake reinvigorated the Crusaders, thwarting Muslim hopes to catch and destroy the crusading army outside the walls of Antioch. That said, the victory did nothing tangible to hasten Antioch's fall, nor did it alleviate the food shortage plaguing the camp.

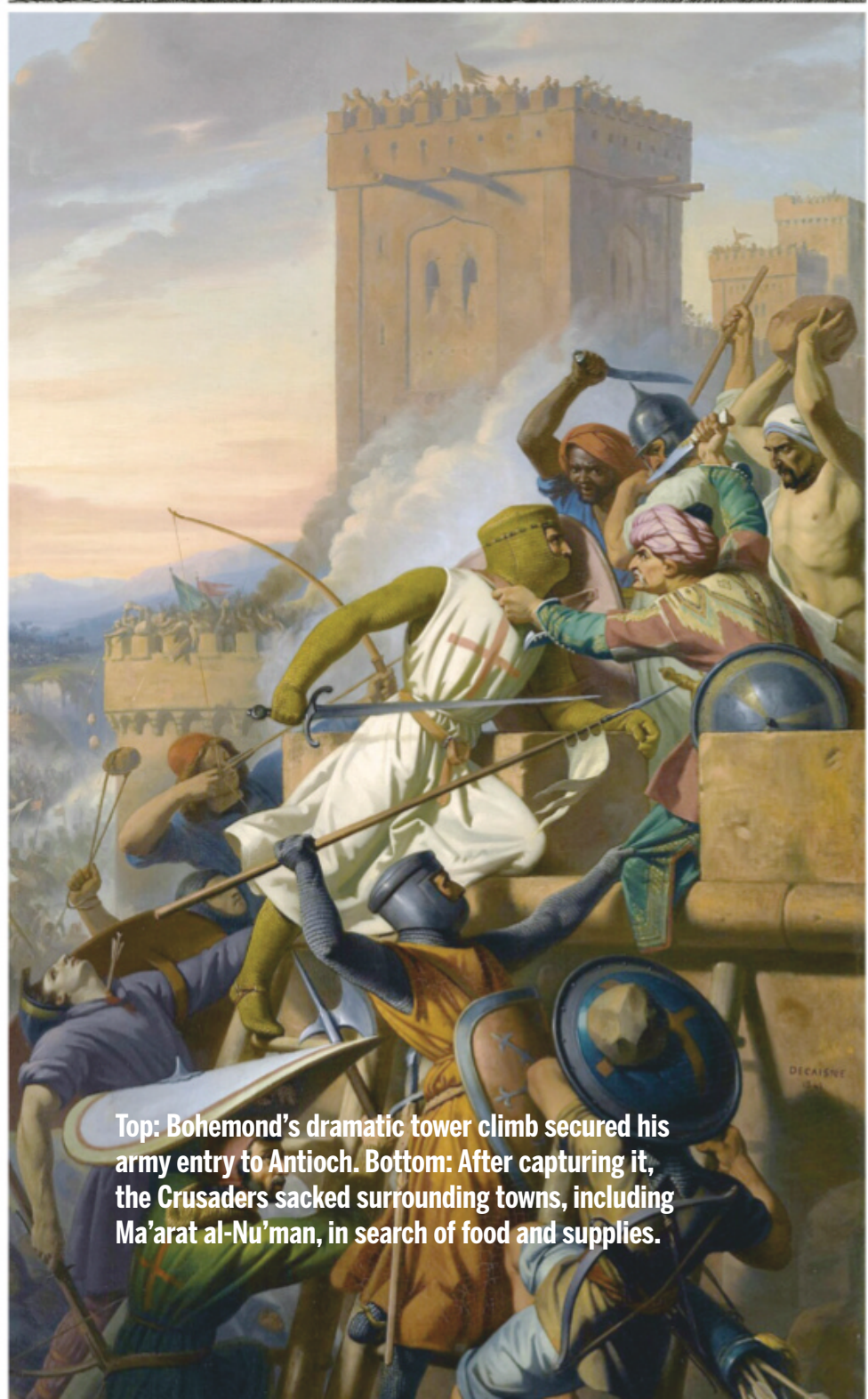
Early March brought an English fleet laden with food and building materials for the camp. The Crusaders immediately set to work building siege engines and fortifications to complete their encirclement of Antioch. With the city's major gates blocked, they were once again free to forage and receive supplies.

That effectively turned the tables. As the Muslim garrison's food supplies began to dwindle, the defenders faced the real prospect of being starved into submission. To dispel any doubts about his own resolve, Yaghi-Siyan ordered the beheading of a captured Crusader who had refused to renounce his faith, then had the remaining Christian prisoners burned alive on a great pyre. In so doing, the governor also hoped to convince his own soldiers they could expect no mercy from the Christian army if it entered the city. Regardless, in late May news reached Antioch that seemed to put a Crusader victory beyond the realm of possibility.

For most of that month Kerbogha—a Turkish general and governor of the city of Mosul—had been besieging the Christian garrison at Edessa, an Armenian city 150 miles to the northeast. Given the distance, Bohemond and the other crusade leaders had not perceived his army as a threat. But then Kerbogha abandoned the siege and began marching on Antioch. Turns out, it had been his target all along. The Turkish general had only attacked Edessa in hopes of removing a potential threat to his lines of communication.

Picking up reinforcements along the march, Kerbogha's army numbered upward of 40,000 men by the time it arrived outside Antioch. News of its approach dispirited the Crusaders. Were the larger Muslim force to catch them outside the city walls, death seemed a strong possibility. Many fled for their lives. What they couldn't have known is that Bohemond had entered into negotiations with the commander of three of the city's defensive towers and a section of adjoining wall. Firuz, an Armenian who had converted to Islam, held a grudge against Yaghi-Siyan, who had punished him for hoarding. Bohemond's promises of riches in exchange for opening the city gates was icing on the cake.

On June 2 Firuz's son slipped out of Antioch to inform Bohemond all was ready. The Norman commander then



Top: Bohemond's dramatic tower climb secured his army entry to Antioch. Bottom: After capturing it, the Crusaders sacked surrounding towns, including Ma'arat al-Nu'man, in search of food and supplies.

revealed his clandestine communications to the other crusade leaders. In exchange for his efforts, Bohemond also demanded he be declared ruler of Antioch after its capture. Agreeing nearly to a man, the others prepared to storm the gates.

As night fell, a large contingent of Crusaders noisily left camp, leading the city's defenders to believe they were off to ambush Kerbogha's army. Under cover of darkness, however, the Crusaders wheeled about and crept up to the southern wall of the city, beneath Firuz's towers. They split into two strike forces—one commanded by Bohemond, the other jointly by Godfrey and Robert of Flanders. Bohemond's force would enter the city over Firuz's section of the wall, while Godfrey and Robert mounted a diversionary attack against the commanding citadel.

Just before dawn on June 3 Bohemond's knights placed a ladder against one of Firuz's towers and began scaling the wall unopposed. The ladder broke soon after Bohemond himself had clambered over, but by then the first men into the city had opened a postern gate. As the Crusaders seized other towers, more ladders went up. Finally, besiegers flung open two main gates, and the rest of the Christian army poured into Antioch. By nightfall the only Muslims left alive were besieged in the citadel. As he rode into the surrounding hills in a panic, Yaghi-Siyan was thrown from his horse and promptly beheaded by Armenian peasants.

Antioch belonged to the Crusaders. They had entered just in time. Two days later the vanguard of the Muslim relief army arrived outside the walls.

Kerbogha encamped his main army within a few miles of Antioch, establishing satellite camps for siege operations in the areas previously occupied by the Crusaders. On June 8 his troops also set up an outpost on Mount Silpius. The brutal initial fighting centered on the citadel and along the south wall. The Muslims were severely hampered by the fact only two narrow paths led to or from the citadel. Ultimately abandoning his camp on the mountain, Kerbogha turned his efforts to a close blockade of the city.

While the Crusaders welcomed a respite from combat, they were all too aware Kerbogha's blockade could be equally deadly, given the dire conditions in Antioch. On entering the city, the Christian troops had discovered, much to their chagrin, that their successful blockade had very thoroughly depleted the food supply.

As morale deteriorated, another batch of Crusaders deserted, among them Bohemond's brother-in-law. Others failed to perform their duties, instead languishing in the city's pillaged houses to await the end. Bohemond motivated such despondent souls by setting several homes ablaze and ordering the roused men back onto the walls. Exhibiting none of the lassitude paralyzing the rest of the army, Bohemond energetically organized the defense of the city. Yet it remains debatable whether even his powerful leadership could have led the embattled Crusaders



to victory had it not been for the sudden appearance of the supernatural in their midst.

On June 10 a French peasant and reputed Christian seer named Peter Bartholomew came before the crusade's leaders and made an extraordinary announcement. He claimed St. Andrew had appeared to him in visions, revealing that the head of the lance that had pierced Jesus' side as he hung on the cross lay concealed beneath the floor of Antioch's Church of St. Peter. Bartholomew further asserted the saint had assured the Christian army victory if it carried the Holy Lance before it into battle. On June 14 Crusaders dug up the floor of the church but found nothing. At nightfall, however, Bartholomew himself climbed into the diggings with the searchers and soon pointed out the tip of a lance protruding from the side of the trench.

The discovery of the relic lance had a transcendent impact on the morale of the Christians

Although the tale of the lance had its share of skeptics—notably Bishop Adhemar and Bohemond—the discovery of the relic had a transcendent impact on the morale of the Christian army, which spoiled for a fight. While the news had bolstered the men's spirits, however, their commanders understood the importance of proper planning before emerging to fight a conclusive battle. Their first step was to appoint Bohemond overall military commander.



Crusader Coin

Soon after capturing Antioch, Bohemond minted coins bearing a Crusader cross and, on the obverse, a bust of St. Peter—or perhaps of Bohemond himself—clad in a helmet with protective chain mail encircling his neck.

Bohemond's strategy was dictated by a logistical constraint: Most of the knights lacked horses. Reasonable estimates of the number of animals available to the Crusaders for the final battle range between 200 and 600. Even accepting the higher number, such a small force of mounted knights couldn't possibly decide the outcome of the forthcoming battle. Thus it fell to the infantry to accomplish what foot soldiers on the battlefields of Western Europe rarely had—to attack and defeat the enemy.

While the number of warriors available to Bohemond is unknown, by that point in the campaign starvation and disease had probably reduced the army to no more than 20,000 men. Bohemond grouped them by “nationality” into four main divisions. The first, which would form the right wing of the Crusader battle line, comprised the northern French and Flemings and northern Normans under Hugh of Vermandois and the two Roberts. The second comprised Godfrey's troops and would occupy the center. The third, on the left wing, comprised the southern French, led solely by Bishop Adhemar, as Raymond was too ill to fight and elected to remain behind with 200 men to guard the citadel. The fourth comprised the southern Normans under Bohemond, who would again hold his force in reserve, wielding it as a hammer against hard-pressed sections of the line and—when the time came, and with God's blessing—striking the decisive blow.

On the morning of June 28 the Crusaders gathered just inside the Bridge Gate to prepare for the battle that would either extend or end the First Crusade. Noting the move-

By the time Kerbogha roused, Muslim troops had either fled or were being hacked to pieces

ment, besieged Turks in the citadel flew a black flag to signal Kerbogha of the coming storm.

As the first Crusader column got under way, some priests stood on the ramparts to pray for divine assistance, while others walked among the troops to issue blessings. Raymond of Aguilers, a French chaplain and the official campaign chronicler, had the honor of bearing the Holy Lance. In the vanguard, the northern French marched out with archers and crossbowmen supplied by the other divisions, ready to counter an expected barrage of enemy arrows. That expectation proved well founded, as a force of 2,000 Muslim horse archers promptly unleashed a rain of arrows on Hugh's troops. Shield-bearing Christian sol-

diers protected their own archers as the latter returned fire. The Crusaders' effective volleys of arrows and crossbow bolts found marks among the Turkish horsemen, who soon broke and fled the field.

With the enemy cavalry out of the fight, the first division of Crusader infantry swung to the right, anchored its flank on the river and attacked in line, targeting the Muslim light infantry. Godfrey's men then rushed out to the left of the first division to join the attack, while Adhemar's force advanced across the plain to secure the left flank. Muslim cavalry from the satellite camps around the city eagerly rushed to join the battle, but with no clear idea of where to go or what they were supposed to be doing. In the absence of any orders, they swarmed around Adhemar's troops, unleashing plenty of arrows but failing to engage in close combat and thus prevent the column from forming up on the left flank.

Kerbogha had still not moved out of camp, apparently content to allow the entire Christian army to emerge so he might destroy it all at once. But the battle had developed more quickly than he had anticipated, and the thought likely dawned on him that encamping his main army a scant few miles from the city walls had been a mistake. Taking matters into their own hands, Kerbogha's subordinates made the first tactically coherent maneuver on the Muslim side of the battle, sending a force of horse archers around Adhemar's column to threaten the rear of the Crusader battle line.

Bohemond reacted quickly, forming an impromptu infantry task force to meet the Muslim threat. The Crusader commander was loath to commit his entire reserve, as he believed it critical to the ultimate outcome. The Turkish horsemen tore into the Christian rear guard, but the foot soldiers stood their ground, forming a circle to fend off the enemy's repeated attacks.

While the infantrymen at the rear were engaged in a desperate stand, the soldiers under Godfrey, Hugh and the two Roberts were sweeping the enemy forces arrayed against them. Fighting in the front ranks, the knights and heavy infantry cut through Kerbogha's light infantry. The unfortunate Muslim foot soldiers—primarily poor men who had volunteered to fight in a holy war—did not waver. They stood their ground and died to a man.

By the time Kerbogha finally roused himself and brought his main army to bear, the Muslim troops deployed around the city had either fled or were being hacked to pieces. And while they likely outnumbered the Crusaders, the newly arrived troops did not immediately attack. Their hesitation was justified. Some in the Muslim

Opposite top: The Crusaders exploited Kerbogha's slow reaction to rout his forces. Opposite middle: Peter Bartholomew, who came under scrutiny for his claims of divine visions, offered to undergo trial by fire and died in agony. Opposite bottom: Antioch encouraged Christians to continue the campaigns inspired by Pope Urban II.



army had distrusted Kerbogha from the outset, while others who had previously supported him had lost confidence due to his disorganized leadership that day. Psychological factors also played a role. Those in Kerbogha's main force had already watched the panicked Muslim horse archers flee and were witnessing mayhem among the light infantry. Any remaining shred of morale likely dissolved when they recognized the threat posed by Adhemar's column, sitting intact on the plain; were they to intercede on behalf of their embattled light infantry, his Crusaders would fall on their flank.

It was at that point the Muslim troops decided en masse to remove themselves from the disaster their commander had orchestrated. Kerbogha's ineptitude, combined with the spectacle of the ongoing slaughter, had transformed his army into a frightened, disorganized mob in which each man thought only of saving his own life. With their flight, the entire Muslim army collapsed.

The Crusaders' pursuit was limited by their lack of horses. They virtually annihilated the Muslim light infantry and camp followers, but most of the Turkish cavalry got away. Kerbogha escaped with his life, but little else. His power and prestige lay in tatters. When the besieged Muslim garrison in the citadel saw the destruction of the relief army, they surrendered. After eight months of misery, fear and violence, the Crusaders had won Antioch.

Although often overlooked in the broader context of the Crusades, the victory at Antioch had enormous historical consequences. Had the crusading army been destroyed, the campaign to reclaim the Holy Land might have died in its infancy. But not even subsequent debacles (e.g., the Crusade of 1101 or the 1147–49 Second Crusade) could erase the glorious memory of the Crusader reconquest of Jerusalem in 1099. With the example of the First Crusade to inspire them, later Crusaders persisted, undoubtedly believing God was on their side.

Although further harrowing fights awaited the Crusaders, they would never again come so close to failure and death as they had at Antioch. Once they'd passed through the crucible of that pivotal battle, the greatest foe they faced was dissension in their own ranks. With the victory at Antioch the era of the Crusades began in earnest. **MH**

*New Jersey-based attorney Brian M. English is a longtime student of ancient and medieval warfare. For further reading he recommends John France's *Victory in the East: A Military History of the First Crusade*; *Crusading Warfare*, by R.C. Smail; and *The Art of Warfare in Western Europe During the Middle Ages*, by J.F. Verbruggen.*

Tactical Takeaways

Besiegers Can Be...

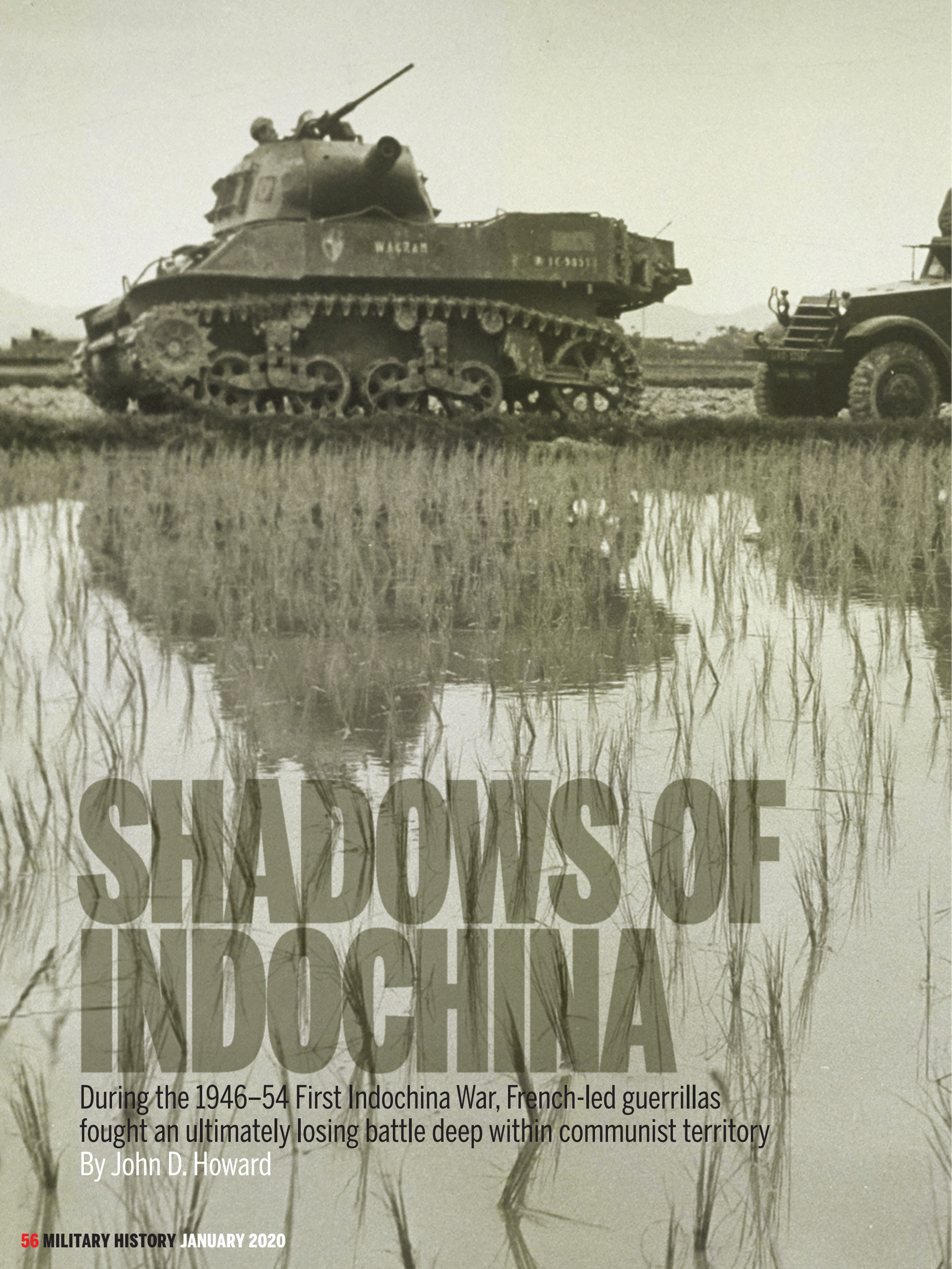
The soldiers of the First Crusade had besieged Antioch for more than seven months before taking the city, only to be besieged themselves.

Walls Are Scalable

By scaling Firuz's towers in the dead of night, Bohemond and his troops rendered the city's extensive fortifications useless.

Infantry Matters

Lacking sufficient horses to fight a mobile battle, the Crusaders relied on infantry to defeat the oncoming Muslims.



SHADOWS OF INDOCHINA

During the 1946–54 First Indochina War, French-led guerrillas fought an ultimately losing battle deep within communist territory

By John D. Howard

Mounted in American-built, World War II-vintage vehicles, French troops pause amid rice paddies during a 1950 patrol outside Hanoi.





Having come under Vietminh fire, paratroopers of the French Foreign Legion warily scan the road ahead.

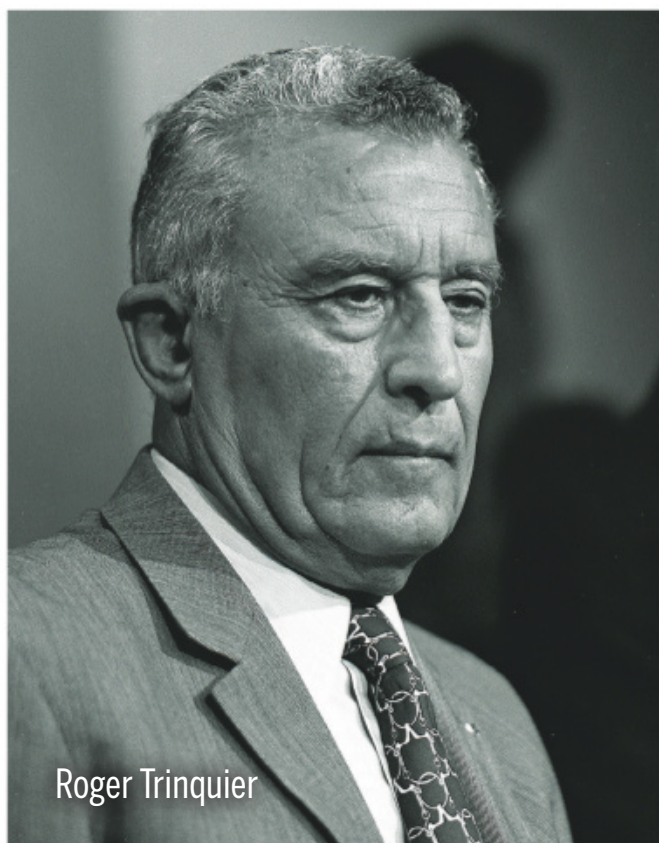
The French imperialists have succeeded in leaving behind them their agents, who continue to be a nuisance to us. At the beginning they were only a handful, but now the rebel movement against the Democratic Republic of Vietnam has increased...in speed of movement as well as in numbers.

There must be at least 2,000 of them now. This movement begins to worry us seriously. A large part of our force is pinned down in mopping-up operations against those rebels.

This political commissar's report, dispatched in the spring of 1953 to the League for the Independence of Vietnam, commonly known as the Vietminh, was one of many expressing concerns about a little-known French-led insurgency against Ho Chi Minh's communist movement. During the latter stages of the 1946–54 First Indochina War such shadow warriors were part of the Composite Intervention Group (*Groupement mixtes d'intervention*, or GMI), originally known as the Composite Airborne Commando Group (*Groupement de commandos mixtes aéroportés*, or GCMA). The GCMA/GMI ultimately organized some 20,000 partisans to conduct covert operations inside territory long considered secure by the Vietminh. Some historians have questioned their

effectiveness, but the guerrillas harassed their opponents and forced them to commit thousands of front-line troops to protect their supply lines and bases.

The French army's humiliating 1940 defeat by the German *Wehrmacht* shattered the illusion of Franco invincibility and sparked a resurgence of nationalistic movements in its Asian colonies. Japan's early victories in the Pacific added momentum. When the Japanese army marched into Indochina after the fall of France, its soldiers were not greeted as liberators but as yet another batch of foreigners intent on expropriating the region's resources and oppressing its people. Japan's heavy-handed policies prompted Ho Chi Minh to return to Vietnam in 1941 and join the struggle for independence. Although he had spent his adult life abroad, Ho was an ardent



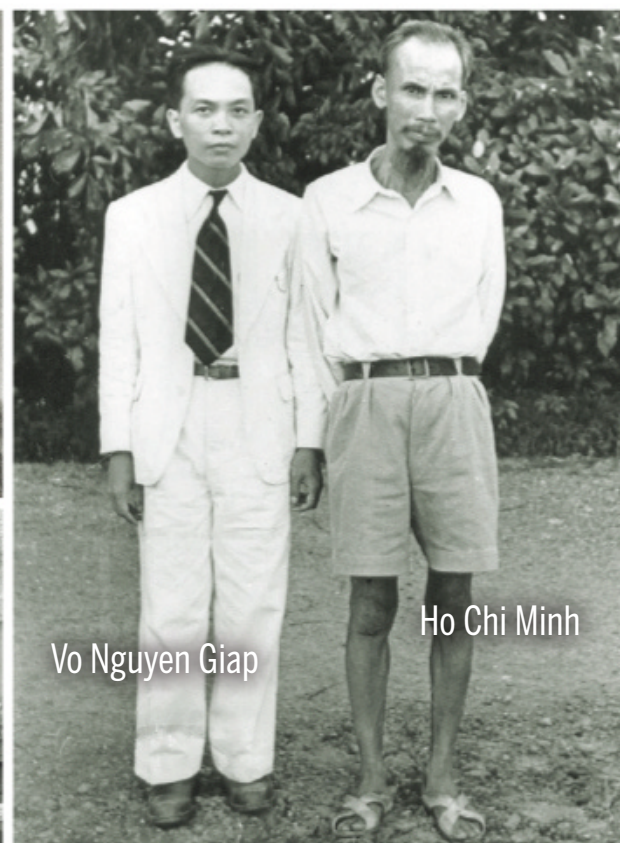
Roger Trinquier



Jean de Lattre
de Tassigny



Henri
Navarre



Vo Nguyen Giap

Ho Chi Minh

nationalist determined to oust both the Japanese and the French. He was also a committed Marxist. Despite the latter fact, in early 1945 personnel of the American Office of Strategic Services (a predecessor of the CIA) joined him in the fight against the Japanese.

At the July 17–August 2, 1945, Potsdam Conference, held two weeks after war's end in Europe, Japan's imminent surrender was among the many issues addressed by the United States, Great Britain and the Soviet Union. Nationalist China was assigned responsibility for disarming the Japanese north of Vietnam's 16th parallel, while Britain was given the task below that line. Allied leaders at Potsdam purposely ignored the French, who were eager to restore their hegemony in Indochina. France was neither invited to the conference nor consulted, a source of great irritation for General Charles de Gaulle, chairman of the provisional government. It was one of many real or perceived slights that grated on Gallic sensitivities throughout World War II and in its aftermath.

On Sept. 2, 1945, as representatives of Japan's Emperor Hirohito signed the Instrument of Surrender aboard the battleship USS *Missouri* in Tokyo Bay, Ho Chi Minh unilaterally declared his country's independence, naming it the Democratic Republic of Vietnam (DRV). A huge crowd in Hanoi heard his speech, in which he quoted the U.S. Declaration of Independence and French Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen, drawing parallels to the condition of his people under French rule.

Ho realized only the United States could thwart the postwar re-establishment of French Indochina, so he petitioned the administration of President Harry S. Truman for recognition of the DRV. But U.S. antipathy toward Ho's embrace of Marxism overrode empathy for the exploited Vietnamese, and the Americans ignored his appeal. With

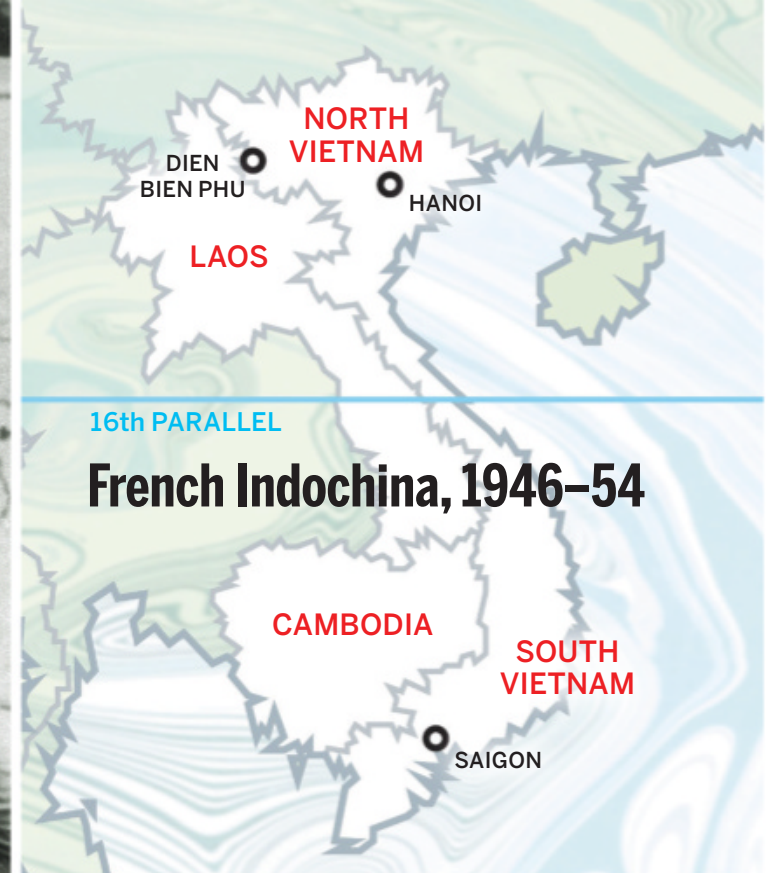
World War II concluded, Truman considered France an essential partner in the recovery of Europe and prevention of Soviet expansionism. Consequently, officials in Washington grudgingly tolerated French imperial ambitions.

By the time British troops landed in southern Vietnam to accept the Japanese surrender, Ho's Vietminh revolutionaries had taken over the city government in Saigon and most other cities and villages nationwide. As the vanguard of the 20th Indian Division disembarked in mid-September 1945, it was confronted by a dangerous insurrection. Britain, struggling to maintain its own empire, supported returning Indochina to French sovereignty and appealed for military assistance to quell the chaos. In early October a contingent under General Philippe Leclerc de Hauteclocque, who had led the Free

The French managed to seize vast tracts of jungle, but the enemy refused to engage

French into Paris in August 1944, arrived and helped subdue the rebellion. Once order was restored in Saigon, Leclerc expanded French influence into the surrounding countryside, handing the revolution a major setback.

China had a firmer grip above the 16th parallel and prohibited the French from returning. Almost immediately emissaries from Paris began secret talks with Chiang Kai-shek's ministers. In March 1946, after France dropped all claims to its concessions on the Chinese mainland, the French Far East Expeditionary Corps (*Corps expéditionnaire français en extrême-orient*, or CEFEQ) was allowed



Vo Nguyen Giap, Ho's military commander (standing) chose advantageous times to strike at the French, while continuing to build and train his army.

to occupy Hanoi. Ho Chi Minh bristled at the force's presence but knew his militias were not ready to take on the CEFEO; he sought to buy time by traveling to France for negotiations he hoped would at least lead to dominion status with the newly created French Union of overseas territories.

Discounting the rising tide of nationalism sweeping Asia and Africa, intransigent French Foreign Ministry representatives had no intention of allowing increased Vietnamese autonomy. After three months of being stonewalled, a discouraged Ho returned home amid building tensions. That December as full-scale hostilities



Para Rifle

Designed before World War II for paratroopers, the MAS-36 CR39 rifle featured a folding hollow stock made of aluminum. It saw widespread use in France's war in Indochina.

erupted between the Vietminh and the CEFEO, Ho was forced into hiding and began his protracted political and military struggle.

The CEFEO, initially comprising less than two divisions, was ill-prepared for the hit-and-run warfare waged by the Vietminh. Looking to defeat the enemy in large set-piece battles, the French launched a series of attacks, often combining infantry, armor and airborne assaults. The French managed to seize vast tracts of jungle north of Hanoi, but the enemy refused to engage in decisive action. General Vo Nguyen Giap, Ho's military commander, set the tempo of combat as he continued to build and train his army. When the time was right, he attacked and withdrew before the CEFEO could bring in reinforcements.

Preoccupation with luring Giap into a major engagement consumed the French army, whose brass didn't think to employ disaffected segments of the population against the Vietminh, even though colonial administrators had cultivated good relations with the country's minorities. Some of the Tai and Nung tribes in the northern mountains believed France would support their pursuit of a semiautonomous federation, while the Montagnards of the Central Highlands sought protection from the Vietnamese, their traditional lowland enemies.

The French approach in Indochina changed in 1950 when General Jean de Lattre de Tassigny, an experienced veteran of both world wars, took charge. The general questioned why no attempt had been made to organize partisans among the friendly minorities, insisting they represented a potentially valuable intelligence source, able to harass the enemy and counter communist influence in the hinterlands. De Lattre wanted guerrillas to threaten Vietminh rear areas and then evolve into mobile strike forces, complementing the army's offensives. His vision came to fruition in April 1951 when the GCMA was created as a joint effort between the French civil and military intelligence services. Tragically, just as the initiative was taking root, 62-year-old de Lattre was medically evacuated to France, where he died of cancer on Jan. 11, 1952.

GCMA success was dependent on recruiting officers and NCOs who could speak tribal languages, understood local customs and had the psychological endurance necessary to withstand long periods of isolation. The first volunteers were "old Indochina hands," unconcerned about being out of the army's mainstream. Their bosses were glad to release them, as they were natural loners, more comfortable in a solitary environment than in colonial parachute battalions. Some of their colleagues said the men had "gone native," a pejorative assessment.

Organizing the Tai and Nungs was the first priority, as they would make an immediate contribution up north, where the Vietminh were the strongest. Once a potential

First Indochina War

450,000
VIETMINH FORCES
300,000+
CASUALTIES
INCLUDES DEAD OR MISSING

395,000
FRENCH FORCES
INCLUDING 150,000 ALLIED
STATE OF VIETNAM TROOPS

198,500
CASUALTIES
75,581 FRENCH UNION TROOPS
KILLED, 64,127 WOUNDED, 40,000
CAPTURED; 58,877 VIETNAMESE
TROOPS DEAD OR MISSING
PLUS: UPWARD OF 125,000
CIVILIANS KILLED

guerrilla group was identified, a two-man GCMA team parachuted into the area to parlay with the elders. If they were receptive, additional supplies and personnel were sent to equip and instruct new recruits, a process typically taking six months. The objective was to form a battalion of 300–400 men commanded by a French officer and assisted by a few NCOs. As soon as the first units were operational, Montagnard clans near Pleiku and Kontum began training.

Almost immediately intelligence on enemy activity improved. As the guerrillas became more competent, missions changed to direct combat, at first focused on low-risk tactics such as mining roads and destroying unguarded caches. Some of the fighters reached a level of proficiency that allowed them to gnaw at the Vietminh with ambushes and raids.

Their impact was evident in an intercepted 1953 message:

We need to exterminate at all cost the pirates [GCMA]. Their work can be considered as the biggest machination destined to undermine the Vietminh movement. Their work will necessitate our re-education of affected populations and the reconstruction of our bases.

Military exigencies occasionally necessitated use of the GCMA in conventional roles. In one October 1953 operation two battalions of Tai tribesmen attacked the communist stronghold in the twin cities of Coc Leu and Lao Cai, along the Chinese border, part of a raid synchronized with a French airborne assault on the base. After overrunning the objective and killing 150 enemy troops, the guerrillas led their airborne counterparts into the jungle, handing off the paratroopers to other friendlies who took them to an evacuation airfield.

In May 1953 Major Roger Trinquier, who related his experiences in Indochina and Algeria in the widely acclaimed treatise *Modern Warfare: A French View of Counterinsurgency*, was appointed to lead the GCMA. Trinquier's relatively junior rank belied the scope of his responsibilities as he set about reorganizing his new command. An experienced GCMA leader, he believed groups of 1,000 partisans assisted by collaborating locals were more effective than smaller bands. He reinforced the northern region with such 1,000-man units, confronting the communists with correspondingly greater firepower.

Trinquier sought to limit the role of volunteers to organizing and training, placing less emphasis on leading in the field. Regardless of how well French soldiers identi-



Top: Led by an M8 armored car, a French column struggles through mud while moving along a jungle track. Above: A French Foreign Legion officer radios a situation report as he and his radio bearer cross a swollen stream.

fied with their charges, life among the tribes in primitive conditions was difficult, and the specter of being seriously wounded was a death warrant. The presence of Europeans also put the population at grave risk, subjecting villagers to severe retaliation when the Vietminh made sweeps through the region. Absent the Europeans, the guerrillas were able to blend in with the local people scratching an existence out of the hill country. Still, some tribesmen lacked the expertise to operate independently, requiring seasoned French officers to remain in the bush with their troops. One lone corporal using the pseudonym René Riesen spent several years in the Central Highlands,



la campagne d'Indochine

Beginning in 1953 members of the French military—and of certain colonial units—who had spent at least 90 days in the war zone between 1945 and 1954 were awarded the Indochina commemorative medal.

commanding 1,000 Montagnards and even intermarrying into the tribe. He was awarded the *Croix de guerre* for his actions and wrote a 1955 memoir of his experiences. The following year Riesen was killed in action in Algeria.

When General Henri Navarre arrived in the spring of 1953 to take command in Indochina, he allocated more resources to the GCMA but was upset that multiple agencies were running covert operations. French intelligence had formed its own militias, organizing religious sects along the Cambodian border and even the notorious Saigon gangsters Binh Xuyen. Freelancing intelligence operatives were only one of Navarre's problems. Some of his subordinates had an inherent distaste for what they perceived as cloak-and-dagger work and tried to undermine the GCMA by shifting its supplies to the regular army. He soon replaced the naysayers and put all unconventional units under a single headquarters, renaming it the GMI. Roger Trinquier was promoted to lieutenant colonel and given command.

But the war was changing, the tempo escalating. Giap now commanded a proficient army organized into regiments and divisions, equipped with heavy weapons supplied by the Peoples' Republic of China and supported by a legion of porters. Giap's army was about to give the war a new face, as it was finally ready to fight on French terms. Trinquier recognized this evolution and directed attacks on the enemy's sustainment capability, not main force units. GMI fighters were ordered to interdict the enemy's logistical lines but faced fierce opposition from the Vietminh infantry assigned to protect them. High casualties incurred by the partisans were omens of things to come.

The 1954 defeat at Dien Bien Phu sounded the death knell for French rule in Indochina

The pitched battle the French had long sought was about to break out in the northeast corner of Vietnam. Yet the place, Dien Bien Phu, was in an isolated valley near the Laotian border, too far from Hanoi and Haiphong to be adequately supported by an air bridge subjected to heavy enemy fire. Although the French air force was augmented with U.S. transport aircraft—Fairchild C-119 Flying Boxcars flown by American civilian pilots—aviation assets were too meager to resupply the garrison, which never exceeded 15,000. Planners grossly miscalculated

Giap's ability to mass superior numbers of ground troops, sustain large formations, organize lethal anti-aircraft defenses and assemble enough artillery to outgun his opponent. Once the Vietminh initiated their major offensive on March 13, 1954, the outcome was preordained. Capitulation on May 7, after 56 days of intense fighting, sounded the death knell for French rule in Indochina.

Switzerland had convened a multilateral conference in Geneva on April 26 to resolve various Cold War issues, but the fall of Dien Bien Phu focused deliberations on Indochina and factored largely in an agreement signed on July 20. With hostilities ended, Laos and Cambodia were recognized as independent countries, and Vietnam was partitioned along the 17th parallel. Believing the military balance was in his favor, Ho Chi Minh was infuriated by the creation of two Vietnams—the DRV in the north and an independent state in the south—but he was pressured to accept it by his Soviet and PRC allies, who feared U.S. intervention were the war to continue.

The ink on the Geneva Accords was hardly dry when Giap's army launched major attacks against northern anti-communist guerrillas. Trinquier wrote a report decrying the situation:

The total suppression of logistical support... will bring in its wake the progressive liquidation of our elements. There is little hope of seeing the leaders of our maquis [a French term for guerrilla fighters] escape the "clemency" of President Ho Chi Minh. As of Aug. 15, 1954, 15 enemy regular battalions, 15 regional battalions and 17 regional companies are now committed against them. Ceasing operations as per orders [Article 11 of the Geneva Accords]... our maquis, undefeated on the field of battle, have been offered up for sacrifice.

France turned its back on its GMI fighters, refusing to evacuate personnel who faced execution if captured by the Vietminh, as Navarre believed such action would violate the accords' cease-fire provision. Trinquier, dumbfounded by Navarre's disregard for his subordinates, appealed to his American colleagues to airdrop supplies to hard-pressed units. Since the United States was not a signatory to the Geneva Accords, he hoped the C-119 pilots who had flown missions over Dien Bien Phu would step into the vacuum created by French timidity. Notwithstanding their willingness, the U.S. government denied permission and ordered the aviators to leave Indochina.

Two years after the official end of the war a communist newspaper reported the killing of 183 and capture of 300 "enemy soldiers." Guerrillas who had escaped the Vietminh pogroms hid their weapons and melted back into the population. A few hardcore French officers and NCOs stayed with their comrades and suffered the fate of those who continued to fight. From time to time their

French forces in Indochina were provided with U.S.-made equipment and weapons—such as the helmets worn by these soldiers and the M4 Sherman tank supporting them—and following the French withdrawal the United States stepped in to support the government of newly created South Vietnam.



transmitted appeals for support crackled over the radio waves, but such traffic gradually faded into silence as the communists annihilated the last remnants of the GMI. Only one Frenchman managed to evade Giap's hunters and make the long march south to freedom.

Military analysts acknowledged some of the GCMA/GMI's tactical successes but rebuked the guerrillas for having failed to cut the 500-mile communist supply line running from China to Dien Bien Phu. Such analysts either discounted or were unaware General Giap had been forced to detach two more infantry regiments, part of his assault force, to provide increased protection for his logistical network. In a postwar report Giap stated, "In mid-March our army's General Staff had to transfer its 9th Regiment...and detach our 176th Regiment from the campaign forces and send them to Lai Cau to sweep away the *phi* [a Vietminh term for "bandits"]." The general admitted Dien Bien Phu would have fallen sooner had those infantry units fought in the final offensive.

Bernard Fall, the author of *Hell in a Very Small Place*, a detailed account of Dien Bien Phu, was the most strident critic of the GMI's failure to affect the outcome of the battle. But Fall, long touted as one of the keen observers of that war, overestimated the fighting capacity of the GMI and discounted the Vietminh's commitment to their

lifeline. Large-scale interdictions were far beyond the capability of lightly armed paramilitary troops, who were no match for veteran soldiers tasked with protecting their porters. In 1969 U.S.-led covert actions on the Ho Chi Minh Trail further proved that hit-and-run raids did not hinder the enemy's supply route for any appreciable period.

Time has not changed the paradigm that guerrillas cannot fight toe-to-toe against determined, well-trained army units. They must be used in supplementary roles—e.g., harassing, attacking sparsely defended targets and shoring up support among the people. Realistic missions are the *sine qua non* of successful unconventional operations. Roger Trinquier recognized as much, even if his detractors, though beneficiaries of 20/20 hindsight, did not. **MH**

John Howard served in the U.S. Army for 28-plus years, retiring as a brigadier general. He spent two tours in Vietnam (1965–66 and 1972–73) as a combat infantryman. For further reading he recommends Street Without Joy, by Bernard B. Fall, and A War of Logistics, by Charles R. Shrader.

Tactical Takeaways

Colonialism Fades

As with every other major pre-World War II colonial power, France proved unable to hold onto its colonies in the post-1945 world.

Guerrillas Keep Mobile

Any conventional army fighting a guerrilla war should expect the enemy to hit and run, not stand and fight.

Airpower Helps, but...

Aircraft can help take or defend ground, but they can't hold it. The job of finding and desively defeating the enemy ultimately is up to the combat arms troops on the ground.

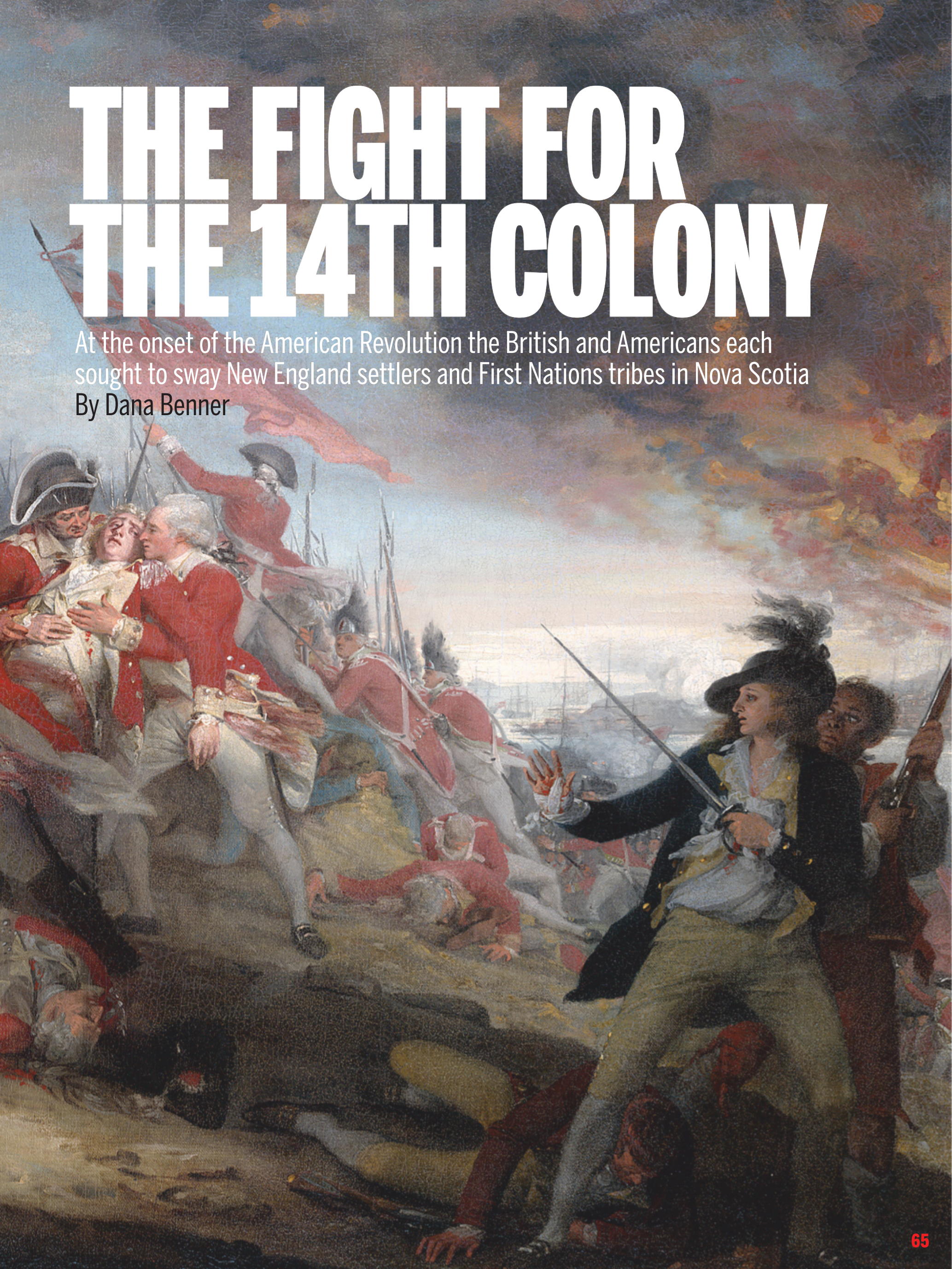


When news of the June 17, 1775, Battle of Bunker Hill reached Nova Scotia, those sympathetic to the American cause proclaimed the news far and wide.

THE FIGHT FOR THE 14TH COLONY

At the onset of the American Revolution the British and Americans each sought to sway New England settlers and First Nations tribes in Nova Scotia

By Dana Benner





Among the weapons used during the fighting on the northern frontier were flintlock pistols like this one made by famed British gunsmith John Waters.

By the mid-18th century American Indians in New England had been subjected to a century and a half of unsolicited hardship—succumbing to unfamiliar diseases brought by European colonists, increasingly dislodged by encroaching settlers, hunted down by soldiers, and used as pawns in the struggle for dominion between Britain and France. The latter ostensibly culminated with the end of the French and Indian War in 1763, though anyone believing that marked the end of conflict on North American soil was in for a rude awakening. War drums were soon beating once again, auguring a conflict that would again force the region's Indians to choose sides.

The end of the French and Indian War was a particularly perplexing time for Indians in northern New England and Nova Scotia. The signing of the 1763 Treaty of Paris ceded much of what had been New France to the British, and King George II's subsequent Royal Proclamation that year set aside the largely uncolonized territory west of the Appalachian Mountains as an Indian reserve, off limits to settlement—at least for the time being. As for the land between the Appalachians and the Atlantic Ocean, the Indians were told it was the domain of the British Crown. But the people who had been there before the Europeans had never considered them-

selves subjects of either European power, merely allies, thus the treaty signed by the French and British meant nothing to them.

With the end of the war came a tide of British colonists, many of whom pushed farther north and inland. Responding to a plea for settlers from Charles Lawrence, governor of the British province of Nova Scotia—a region spanning present-day eastern Quebec, the Maritime Provinces of New Brunswick, Nova Scotia, Prince Edward Island and far northern Maine—8,000 so-called “New England Planters” ventured north. (At the time most of Maine comprised a district within the sprawling Province of Massachusetts Bay.) French Nova Scotians not expelled by the British before or during the war either learned to live under Crown rule, moved west to Quebec—where, though under British rule, the French remained the majority—or relocated south to French Louisiana. A decade later came the American Revolution, and suddenly the newcomers in Nova Scotia were forced to decide where their loyalties lay.

Fed up with taxation without representation in Parliament, waves of angry New Englanders were on the prod. In Boston on Dec. 16, 1773, a band of colonists—some disguised as Indians—had boarded British ships and dumped an entire shipment of tea into the harbor. Parliament responded with the 1774 Coercive Acts (soon derided by colonists as the “Intolerable Acts”), largely stripping the Massachusetts rebels of self-rule. That fall at the meeting of the First Continental Congress in Philadelphia, delegates in turn called for a boycott of trade with Britain and its colonies (including Canada) until George III addressed their grievances. While the embargo had a trifling effect in Britain, it had a severe impact on Nova Scotian farmers and merchants, who had developed a robust trade with the colonies to the south. Within months the American economic pressure led to shortages of food and goods throughout the Canadian maritime region. To further thwart the flow of



Britain's punitive actions after the Boston Tea Party prompted the colonies to enact a trade embargo affecting Nova Scotia.

Soon after signing the Declaration of Independence, representatives of the United States signed a treaty with the tribes of the Wabanaki Confederacy.



supplies and goods overland from the north to Loyalists and British troops stationed in New England, the Patriots agitating for a break with the Crown sent privateers to raid and destroy ports in Nova Scotia.

Despite the economic hardship—or perhaps due to it—many Nova Scotians initially sympathized with their rebellious neighbors to the south. When news of the June 17, 1775, Battle of Bunker Hill reached the settlements, for example, supporters of the cause procured a carriage drawn by six horses and, waving a flag of liberty, proclaimed the news far and wide.

Demographics can help explain the stir of emotions. Estimates put the total non-Indian population of Nova Scotia in 1775 at just under 20,000 people, three-quarters of whom hailed from Massachusetts, Connecticut and Rhode Island. Any French who remained were at best ambivalent about the conflict to the south, as were German immigrants, while Irish immigrants actively assisted the rebels. Only a small percentage of Nova Scotians were Loyalists from England and Scotland. The statistical skew prompted provincial Governor Francis Legge to express his concern in a letter to London-based colonial secretary Lord Dartmouth. Would those residents with New England roots raise arms and defend the province against possible attack by the Americans? Wags were already referring to Nova Scotia as the “14th colony.” It was a valid concern, made

even more pressing by the rising anger of the region’s Indian tribes.

In the coming battle for the northern frontier, the British and Americans alike recognized the military potential of the Indians—known in Canada as the First Nations. Leaders on either side courted their favor. If the tribes couldn’t be convinced to join the fight, the thinking went, then perhaps they could be persuaded to remain neutral.

Among the sympathetic Nova Scotians acting on behalf of the American colonists was John Allan. Born in Edinburgh, Scotland, on Jan. 13, 1746, he was the son of a

Wags were already referring to Nova Scotia as the ‘14th colony.’ It was a valid concern

British army officer who moved his family to Nova Scotia in 1849 and was presumably rewarded with a land grant after the French and Indian War. Educated in Massachusetts, Allan returned to the family lands in Nova Scotia where he became involved in local politics and made his living as a farmer and a merchant, turning a tidy profit from trade with New England.



Others might have been content with their wealth and station and cozied up to British authorities, but given his Boston education, trade connections and neighbors with ties to New England, Allan sympathized with the Patriots and vigorously defended their cause to all who would listen. It was Allan's friends who blazed around the countryside in a carriage to hurrah the uprising at Bunker Hill.

As a prominent citizen and member of the Nova Scotia House of Assembly, his opinions naturally attracted attention, soon inviting censure from provincial authorities. When Allan refused to be silent, the government charged him with treason. So, in August 1776 he fled across the border to Machias, in the District of Maine.

As the colonists were revolting against the crown, the Indians largely empathized with them

Like many other Patriot leaders, Allan paid dearly for his beliefs. In his haste to flee Nova Scotia, he had to leave behind wife Mary and their five children. As the rebellion spread, the British burned his Halifax home to the ground. Mary was later imprisoned and interrogated, the children sent to live with a relative. Regardless, the Scottish-born firebrand persisted.

Allan believed the key to defending the northern frontier lay in securing the active participation—not merely the neutrality—of the region's Indians. Before fleeing

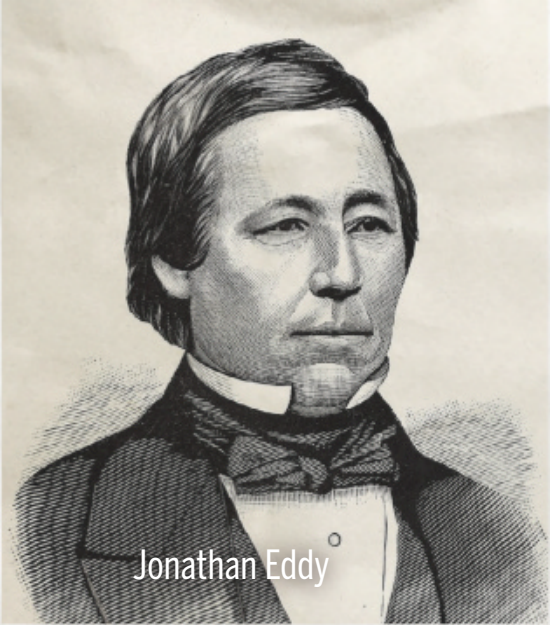
Nova Scotia he had met with representatives of the Micmac and Maliseet nations, whom he thought would be valuable allies to the colonial rebels.

Those two powerful nations, together with the Passamaquoddy, Abenaki and Penobscot peoples, comprise the Wabanaki Confederacy—a regional alliance whose origins in Nova Scotia stretch back at least to the arrival of the first French settlers in the early 17th century. Influenced by the teachings of the Jesuits, they had long befriended the French and fought alongside them in the previous war. Though the nations had subsequently signed treaties of peace and friendship with the victorious British, they still regarded the encroaching newcomers as outsiders. As the colonists were revolting against the Crown, the Indians largely empathized with them. Given the complex relationships and lack of trust on all sides, the nations tried their best to remain neutral in this latest struggle. Unfortunately, despite what they had been promised or may have hoped, nothing would remain the same for the region's Indians, no matter which side they joined.

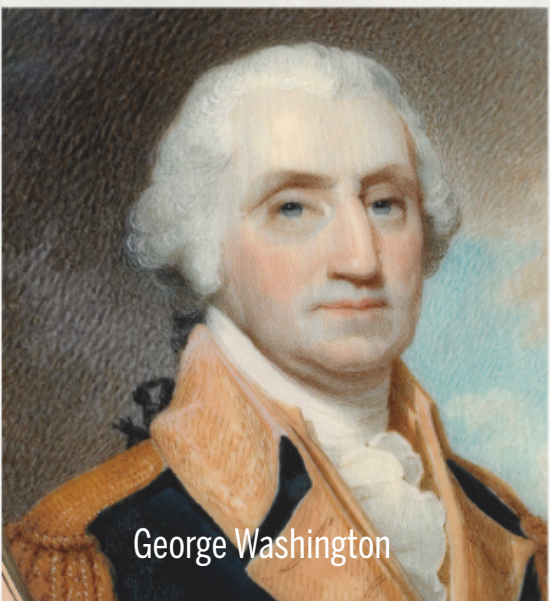
In the spring of 1775, as Patriots from Massachusetts to Georgia banded together to battle the British, men and supplies funneled southward out of the remote District of Maine, rendering the northern frontier all but defenseless. Left mainly to their own devices, the small contingent of remaining settlers and a handful of Indian allies were expected to hold British forces in the Canadian Maritimes at bay. Such would be a daunting task for even an established fighting force, let alone a group of poorly armed farmers.

Yet British authorities in Nova Scotia had grown increasingly nervous the previous winter. Governor Legge, for one, was convinced that the majority residents with New England roots were plotting against the government and inciting other locals into raising arms against the British. He was partly right. Among the dissenting New Englanders was Jonathan Eddy. Born in Norton, Mass., circa 1726–27, Eddy had fought for the British in the colonial militia during the French and Indian War before answering Governor's Lawrence's plea for planters and moving to Nova Scotia in 1763. Like Allan, Eddy prospered, dabbled in local politics and served in the Nova Scotia House of Assembly. Openly supportive of the Patriot cause, he was forced into hiding but continued to foment rebellion in the province.

As the American Revolution heated up in early 1776, he ventured south to meet with such Patriot leaders as George Washington and Sam Adams, pressing them to mount an invasion to “liberate” Nova Scotia. While failing in that effort, Eddy did secure a commission as a colonel in the Continental Army and a promise from the Massachusetts Provincial Congress of weapons, ammunition and other supplies for any force he was able to raise. He immediately set out for Machias, where Patriot fervor ran high.



Jonathan Eddy



George Washington



On June 12, 1775, in the first naval engagement of the Revolutionary War, the townsmen of Machias, Maine, seized the British armed schooner *Margaretta*.

On June 12, 1775, just two months after the opening clashes at Lexington and Concord, Mass., the first naval battle of the war took place off Machias. Amid the Siege of Boston the British had sent two Loyalist merchant ships north to trade for needed lumber to build barracks. To ensure the deal went through, the British also dispatched the armed schooner *Margaretta*, which sat offshore within firing distance. Offended and unwilling to help the British, townsmen instead seized one of the merchant ships and used it to chase down the slower warship, which they captured and turned over to the Provincial Congress. For the duration of the war Patriot privateers out of Machias would continue to harass, capture and sink British ships.

Eddy, who had resolved to besiege Fort Cumberland in central Nova Scotia, arrived in town in August 1776 seeking volunteers but was able to recruit only 20 men. Hoping to pick up more along the way, he was preparing to sail north when Allan arrived in harbor and tried to dissuade his associate, to no avail. Making his way up the Nova Scotia coast, Eddy picked up seven men in Passamaquoddy Bay. Sailing up the St. John River to the New England planter community of Maugerville, he recruited 27 settlers and 19 Maliseets. From there the growing war party sailed up the Bay of Fundy in whaleboats and canoes to Shepody, where they caught the small British outpost by surprise.

After picking up a handful of willing Acadians at Memramcook, Eddy marched overland to Sackville, about 5 miles west of Fort Cumberland. By then it was

early November, and his force had swollen to about 180 men. The fort was garrisoned by some 200 Loyalist troops under the command of British army Lt. Col. Joseph Goreham, who had put a price on Eddy's head.

On the evening of November 6 Eddy's men managed to seize a loaded supply sloop docked out of sight of the fort, taking 13 prisoners. The next morning Goreham, unaware of its capture, sent a 30-man work party down to the sloop. They, too, were taken. Added to the loss of the Shepody outpost, Eddy had captured a full quarter of the garrison and most of its supplies.

On November 10 he sent to Goreham an ultimatum to surrender, which the plucky British commander answered in kind. Things went downhill for Eddy from there. Though he had no artillery or siege equipment, the colonel took the 80 of his men not standing watch or guarding prisoners and laid siege to the fort. He found it stronger than he had imagined. Twice repulsed, Eddy resorted to a blockade. Meanwhile, British authorities had gotten wind of Eddy's operation, and on November 29 reinforcements landed and drove off the attackers, ending the siege.

Eddy returned to Machias, where he managed its defense through war's end.



Micmac Cap

The people of the Wabanaki Confederacy were skilled at war and remain accomplished artisans, producing a range of fine crafts and clothing. An example of the latter is this woman's peaked cap enhanced with beadwork.



Many colonists who opposed independence joined Loyalist military units, including the red-coated 2nd Battalion, King's Royal Regiment of New York.

That summer had brought promising signs of a thaw in American relations with the First Nations. On July 19, 1776, scarcely two weeks after the signing of the Declaration of Independence, representatives of the fledgling United States had penned the nation's first foreign treaty—and first treaty with Indians—in Watertown, Mass.

A squadron of five Royal Navy warships planned a pre-emptive strike against Machias, Maine

Among other provisions, the Treaty of Watertown called for the Micmac and Maliseet tribes and the United States to aid one another against any enemy, including Great Britain; the tribes to refrain from assisting British troops or subjects or trading with them as long as hostilities continued; the tribes to furnish General Washington with 600 warriors ("or as many as may be"); the tribes to urge the Passamaquoddy and other allied nations to also furnish and supply men for the Continental Army; Massachusetts to establish a trading post at Machias for the tribes; and

the tribes to renounce all former treaties with any other power. (Though Micmacs at the time did not universally agree to the treaty, the present-day nation does still honor its terms, allowing its citizens to join the U.S. military.)

Meanwhile, Allan had been hard at work. In October he attempted to secure aid in Boston for his Indian allies but came up empty due to pressing domestic needs. On November 29—the day Eddy's siege of Fort Cumberland ended in failure—Allan headed to Pennsylvania to meet with Washington, who was hard-pressed by the British and about to go into winter quarters at Valley Forge. He, too, could offer little help. Not letting the dust settle, Allan moved on to meet with the Second Continental Congress, which had fled to Baltimore, one step ahead of the British advance on Philadelphia.

Received by the delegates on Jan. 1, 1777, he gave a full accounting of matters on the northern frontier. Impressed by his knowledge of and feeling for the tribes, they appointed him superintendent of Indians in the Eastern Department of the Continental Army at the rank of colonel. They also gave him the go-ahead to establish a military presence along the St. John River and recruit Maliseets and settlers to the Patriot cause. On the delegates' authority, he applied to the Massachusetts General Court to raise 3,000 men for the campaign. If he could win over enough Nova Scotians, Allan hoped to launch another assault on the British supply base at Fort Cumberland.

Establishing his headquarters in Machias, Allan was able to recruit just under 100 men, including allied Indians, before setting out for Nova Scotia in a flotilla of whaleboats and birch canoes in late May. Reaching the mouth of the St. John on June 2, Allan left 60 men to guard the approach, then made his way upriver with the rest of his party to open negotiations with the Maliseets. Once again, however, the British got wind of a Patriot operation in their midst, and three weeks later British warships landed troops at the mouth of the St. John. Leading the retreat upriver and back down an old canoe route, Maliseet Chief Ambroise Saint-Aubin managed to return Allan's party home and bring nearly 500 of his people to Machias and safety—or so they thought.

In retaliation for Allan's attack and to discourage any further incursions into Nova Scotia, a squadron of five Royal Navy warships under Commodore Sir George Collier planned a pre-emptive strike against Machias. Arriving at the mouth of the Machias River on August 13, two of the British ships moved upriver toward the settlement, planning to land a contingent of Royal Marines. Fortunately for the Patriots, Eddy had received advance warning of the attack. He had his militiamen place a log boom across the river and set up several defensive positions along its banks. The barrier and withering musket fire were enough to convince the Marines to remain aboard that night.

Waiting with the militiamen to spring the trap the next morning were Allan and his tribal allies, including the



The remnants of Fort Cumberland stand as a stark reminder of the failure of Jonathan Eddy's attempt to export the American Revolution to Nova Scotia.

Maliseets, Penobscots and Passamaquoddies under Chief Francis Joseph Neptune. Though the British managed to breach the log boom, land some Marines and torch a few outbuildings, no sooner had they dropped anchor within range of the settlement than they abruptly broke off their attack and sailed for home. Veterans of the battle credited the Indians' expert marksmanship and "hideous yells" for undermining British resolve and morale. Chief Neptune himself made a long-range musket shot that toppled a red-coated officer into the river.

Machias was not attacked again. However, neither would Washington permit another military expedition into Nova Scotia. Like Eddy, Allan would sit out the war in Maine. Their shared dream of leading an invasion of their adopted province was dead.

In the summer of 1779, in a sad footnote to the frontier saga, Micmac warriors sworn to the Patriot cause plundered the homes of British settlers in Maugerville, prompting a Royal Navy expedition to subdue the Indians. Sailing upriver in a U.S.-flagged prize ship to lull the Indians into complacency, the British crew captured more than a dozen Micmacs as they came to greet their "trusted American friends." The captives were sent to prison in Quebec.

Seeking their release, Micmac Chief John Julien visited Michael Francklin, the Crown-appointed superintendent of Indian affairs in Halifax—John Allan's counterpart in Nova Scotia. Seeking a permanent end to the uprisings, Francklin agreed to turn over the hostages, on several conditions. Promising the Indians supplies, trading privileges and an end to British interference in their affairs, he in exchange got the Micmacs to sign a treaty vowing to protect British settlers in the province, turn over any remaining troublemakers and above all have nothing more to do with Allan. It was a repudiation of the 1776 Treaty of Watertown, and it worked to keep the peace north of the frontier line. **MH**

U.S. Army veteran Dana Benner holds a master's degree in heritage studies. He teaches history, political science and sociology at the university level. For further reading Benner recommends Unsettled Past, Unsettled Future, by Neil Rolde.

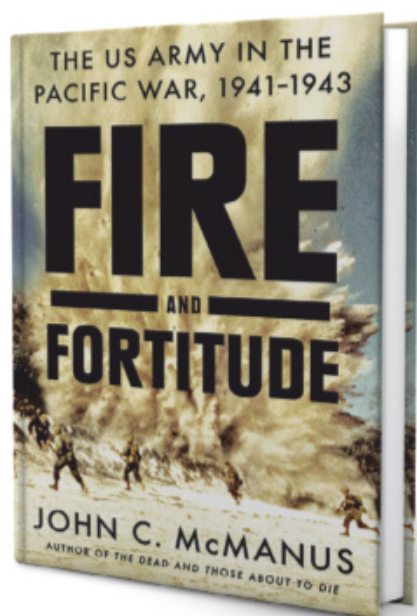


Camp Colors

Such banners were in use in both British and U.S. military camps of the era, indicating where each regiment should pitch its tents. The one above belonged to the Loyalist 84th Regiment of Foot (Royal Highland Emigrants), which helped to defend Nova Scotia.

Reviews

While the Marines stormed the shores of Japanese-held Pacific islands, soldiers like these did the lion's share of the fighting.



Fire and Fortitude: The U.S. Army in the Pacific War, 1941-43, by John C. McManus, Dutton Caliber, New York, 2019, \$34

The Army's Pacific

The U.S. Army did 80 percent of the fighting against Japan, yet the Marines dominate popular histories. In an effort to restore the balance, John McManus, a professor of American military history, spotlights the Army's role in first two years of the Pacific War.

Following a fine account of the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor (though it breaks no new ground) the author turns to the greatest defeat in American history. Hobbled by the Depression and a relatively tiny Army, American leaders agreed the distant Philippine Islands were indefensible. Anticipating the Japanese invasion, they planned a retreat to the trackless jungles of the Bataan Peninsula. Yet retreat was not in Philippine Department commander Gen. Douglas MacArthur's vocabulary; he stoutly maintained that his combined American-Filipino forces would repel any invader. Two weeks after Pearl Harbor the Japanese arrived, parked their transports, loaded troops into barges and headed for shore. Resistance was minimal.

Seeing the Japanese advancing steadily, subordinates suggested moving supplies to

Bataan, but MacArthur refused—a serious mistake. By the time he changed his mind, it was impossible to move enough supplies. The outnumbered Japanese suffered terribly during the Bataan fighting, but American and Philippine forces, hobbled by a lack of food, medicine and equipment, suffered more.

Evacuated to Australia before the surrender, MacArthur directed the recapture of New Guinea, perhaps the least known major operation of the theater and one that persisted through war's end in August 1945. Despite vastly improved logistics, troops had a miserable time in the jungles of New Guinea, which resembled those on Bataan. Many historians consider the campaign the most arduous fought by any Allied troops.

Commanding from Australia, MacArthur underestimated the problems of jungle warfare and often denounced his generals' performance, but success came at a price. When Gen. Robert Eichelberger garnered headlines and a *Saturday Evening Post* story after winning the first U.S. ground victory of the war (the capture of Buna-Gona, Papua), Mac-

Arthur, who maintained he had personally directed the fighting, relegated his subordinate to training duties in Australia and refused requests from Washington to release Eichelberger for a command in Europe.

The author delivers vivid accounts of the campaigns in China/Burma, India, the Solomons (skimming the early Marine-dominated months), the Aleutians and the Gilberts (where the Marines prevailed at Tarawa, though nearby Makin, an Army operation, was no picnic). Excruciating chapters detail Japan's bestial treatment of POWs. MacArthur's reputation (never as high among the military as among civilian scholars) continues its decline.

Opinionated and highly entertaining as the book is, it is unlikely to bump the Marines from pride of place in the Pacific War.

—Mike Oppenheim

MacArthur's Air Force: American Airpower Over the Pacific and the Far East, 1941–1951, by Bill Yenne, Osprey Publishing, Oxford, U.K., 2019, \$30

In the latter conflicts of his 61-year military career—the Pacific Theater of World War II and again in Korea—General of the Armies Douglas MacArthur relied on airpower. But how he wielded the flying sword via his various airmen has seldom been explored in the manner of Bill Yenne's latest volume.

Opening with MacArthur's 1941 debacle in the Philippines, Yenne cites contradictory accounts of how U.S. airpower in the region was largely destroyed over two hours on December 8, following the headline-grabbing events across the International Date Line. The author makes a convincing argument that the enduring mystery exists in part due to "incomplete memories of participants with much to forget."

In the aftermath MacArthur turned to Lt. Gen. George C. Kenney, commander of the Fifth Air Force, as his foremost air commander. Having come up in attack aviation, Kenney was relatively new to heavy bombardment, but

his command excelled in the tactical use of twin-engine bombers, notably North American B-25 Mitchells and Douglas A-20 Havocs. From New Guinea in 1942 to the Philippines in 1944 his aircrews set a high standard of innovative effectiveness against Japanese ground and sea targets.

New units joined Kenney's command, which eventually expanded into the Far East Air Force and included the Seventh and Thirteenth Air Forces. Much of Yenne's narrative describes the comings and goings of various bomber, fighter and transport groups and their affiliated personalities, notably Col. Paul "Pappy" Gunn, father of the B-25 gunship. Chapters trace the rise and fall of leading aces, as Kenney was determined that by war's end the American ace of aces would be a man from his command. He got his way with U.S. Army Air Forces Maj. Richard Bong, though in the process he expended some fine leaders, men the caliber of Thomas J. Lynch, Neel E. Kearby and Thomas B. McGuire Jr.

At war's end MacArthur's prestige rode the peak of his power as a Pacific supremo. He remained in theater between the wars, overseeing Japan's demilitarization until confronted with a crisis by North Korea's attack southward in June 1950. Yenne examines the waning fortunes that led to MacArthur's humiliating 1951 dismissal by President Harry Truman. But it is not excessive to say that airpower saved South Korea during MacArthur's tenure.

Throughout, Yenne provides a detailed, objective assessment of how the controversial general alternately used and misused airpower via his successive flying commanders. In that regard, *MacArthur's Air Force* likely will become a standard reference.

—Barrett Tillman

Undersea Warriors: The Untold History of the Royal Navy's "Secret Service," by Iain Ballantyne, Pegasus Books, New York, 2019, \$35

Many historians date the end of the

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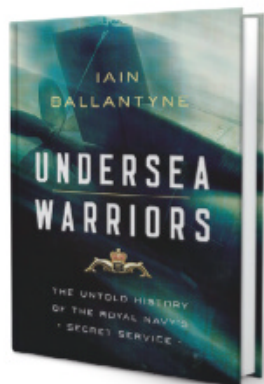
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Reviews

MILITARY HISTORY

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Cold War to the fall of the Berlin Wall and reunification of Germany 30 years ago. To this day, however, many military operations carried on during that fraught and dangerous era remain shrouded in secrecy. *Undersea Warriors* lifts at least a corner of the veil regarding the role played by Britain's Royal Navy submarine service. While



not as numerous as their U.S. Navy cobelligerents, British submarines nevertheless were kept very busy during the Cold War.

Undersea Warriors explores in detail the little-reported exploits of British intelligence and ballistic missile submariners during the Cold War through the experiences of four commanders at the sharp end of such operations, whom author Iain Ballantyne writes possessed “steely courage and technical competence, not forgetting an ability to think fast—and to come up with solutions to problems that only a nonconformist mind could find.” Much of the material in the book was previously classified.

A prolific author of books and articles on naval matters, Ballantyne has extensive firsthand knowledge of his subject. He also has a facility for rendering non-fiction into a narrative as brisk and readable as a novel. In fact, some of the events recounted in his book may have inspired novels. Part action-adventure and part spy thriller, *Undersea Warriors* blends the writing approaches of C.S. Forester and John le Carré to reveal a world of which few outsiders have been aware.

—Robert Guttman

On a Knife's Edge: The Ukraine, November 1942–March 1943, by Prit Buttar, Osprey Publishing, New York, 2018, \$35

Many histories of World War II's Eastern Front in the winter of 1942–43 present a similarly simplistic narrative, with the Soviet encirclement of Stalingrad as the central—indeed, sometimes the only—

major activity. In *On a Knife's Edge*, however, author Prit Buttar properly sets Stalingrad amid the broader context of the winter campaigns in the Ukraine. He begins with the Soviet offensive and German mistakes that led to Stalingrad and continues through its aftermath, from the subsequent Russian attacks intended to end the war outright to the German counterattack that stabilized the front and bought Axis forces breathing room.

On a Knife's Edge begins with an overview of the military situation in the early winter of 1942, describing the Soviet offensive, the encirclement of Stalingrad and the desperate but ultimately futile German attempts to save it. Buttar then relates the repeated Russian attacks that almost collapsed the front, leading to the near destruction of a German army and annihilation of four allied Axis armies. He follows up with an extensive look at Erich von Manstein's counterattack against the overextended Soviet positions. The narrative concludes with the spring thaw, as the two exhausted opponents warily regarded each other across the muddy steppes and prepared for summer fighting.

In describing what he terms one of the harshest theaters of the war, Buttar also mentions war crimes carried out by both sides. He strives to be evenhanded and mentions the part locals (both communist partisans and pro-Axis paramilitary groups) played in perpetrating them. He also addresses the extensive difficulties each side faced with supply lines, logistics and the weather, which as much as the opposing armies dictated the pace and outcome of operations.

The sheer number of people and places involved can be overwhelming, but the publisher includes maps every few pages, while a list of *dramatis personae* up front helps the casual reader follow along. The resulting work is a fascinating read for anyone looking to better understand operations in the Ukraine surrounding what was perhaps the most infamous battle on the Eastern Front.

—David Harris

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Hallowed Ground

1690 Battle of the Boyne, Ireland

By David T. Zabecki

Fought on July 1, 1690, just north of Dublin, the Battle of the Boyne was among the most significant battles in the long, religiously charged struggle between England and Ireland. Its aftereffects linger these 300-plus years later, notably in the Brexit dispute between Britain and the European Union (EU).

After the Glorious Revolution of 1688 Parliament deposed James II of England and Ireland and VII of Scotland (who had sought to bring back Roman Catholicism to the British Isles) in favor of James' daughter Mary and her Dutch husband, William, Prince of Orange (both Protestants). In April 1689 at Westminster Abbey the latter were crowned Queen Mary II of England, Scotland and Ireland and King William III of England and Ireland and II of Scotland.

James, meanwhile, had fled to France to plot his return to the throne. With support from his cousin King Louis XIV he landed with a small Anglo-French army in Kinsale, southern Ireland, on March 12, 1689. He was well received by the largely Catholic south, which had raised an army to support his restoration. William reacted proportionately. On August 13 an army of English, Scottish, Dutch and Danish troops landed at Bangor Bay in Protestant northern Ireland. Commanding the force was 74-year-old Friedrich Hermann von Schomberg, regarded as one of the greatest soldiers of the 17th century. The German-born Duke of

Schomberg was struck in the back of the neck by a close-range carbine shot and killed

Schomberg had been a marshal of France and commander of the armies of Brandenburg. He quickly occupied Belfast and secured a firm foothold in northern Ireland.

On June 14, 1690, William III landed at Carrickfergus with some 16,000 fresh troops, determined to take Dublin and resolve the crisis in Ireland. Assuming command with Schomberg as his second, he pushed south with a combined army of 36,000. James and his Jacobite forces, numbering about 23,500, moved north and entrenched along the south bank of the Boyne River, the only defensible line north of the city. Most of William's troops were armed with the latest flintlock muskets, while the Jacobites were largely armed with obsolete matchlocks and woefully short of artillery.

William's army reached the Boyne on June 29. The next day William was slightly wounded while reconnoitering fords along the river. On the morning of July 1 he sent about a quarter of his force under Schomberg's son Meinhardt to conduct a feint to the west, opposite Roughgrange. James sent almost half his own forces and most of his meager artillery to block a crossing. Schomberg himself then directed William's main attack in the center, across the ford at Oldbridge. By midday the veteran commander and his staff had crossed the river at Grove Island. Once on the south bank Schomberg, who had opted not to wear his protective cuirass, directed the deployment of the crossing troops. As William's infantry formed up on the south bank, a Jacobite cavalry force broke through, spearheaded by James' Life Guards under the exiled king's illegitimate son James FitzJames, Duke of Berwick. After receiving two glancing sword blows to the head, Schomberg was struck in the back of the neck by a close-range carbine shot and instantly killed. Most of his staff died with him.

Despite the death of their second-in-command, the Williamites ultimately took the field at Boyne. William subsequently took Dublin, forcing a Jacobite withdrawal to Limerick. Soon thereafter James again fled to France, never to return to Britain, though it took William until October 1691 to secure all of Ireland. James' relative weakness in artillery had proven critical to his defeat. When he'd first landed in Ireland, he'd fielded ample cannons. He was critically short of money, however, and forced to melt down guns to mint debased shillings made of bronze. (Real shillings were silver, and coin collectors refer to the Jacobite coins as "gun money.")

Each June 12 Protestant residents of present-day Northern Ireland mark the Glorious Revolution and William's victory over James with Orangeman's Day, aka "The Twelfth," centered on large parades in Ulster County, a celebration many Catholics deem offensive and one that often sparks violence. Meanwhile, one of the biggest stumbling blocks over Brexit (Britain's exit from the EU) is the issue of a "hard border" between the Republic of Ireland, which would remain an EU member, and Northern Ireland, which as part of the United Kingdom would leave the EU.

The battlefield on the Boyne is well preserved and marked, boasting an excellent visitor center and museum. A memorial stone marks the spot where Schomberg reportedly fell, while his remains are interred in Dublin's Anglican/Protestant St. Patrick's Cathedral. **MH**

ABOVE: RIJKSMUSEUM; BELOW: RM IRELAND (ALAMY STOCK PHOTO)



Above: Crossing the Boyne at Oldbridge, William's redcoats roll back James' army.
Below: Period cannons stand watch over the field, near Drogheda, County Meath.



War Games



Send in the Marines!

Can you match each location to the reason for U.S. intervention in the region that year?

1. Korea, 1871
2. Veracruz, 1914
3. Haiti, 1915
4. Japan, 1863
5. Samoa, 1898
6. China, 1900
7. Santo Domingo, 1916
8. Honolulu, 1898
9. Philippines, 1899

- ___ **A.** Overthrow of president by secretary of war
- ___ **B.** Protecting embassies from rebel "Boxers"
- ___ **C.** Failure to apologize after arresting sailors
- ___ **D.** U.S. refusal to recognize indigenous republic
- ___ **E.** Seeking apology for attacks on U.S. warships
- ___ **F.** Unilateral decision to establish a military base
- ___ **G.** Opposing German-backed paramount chief
- ___ **H.** Restoring order after dictator's assassination
- ___ **I.** Reprisal for bombardments of foreign ships

Answers: A7, B6, C2, D9, E1, F8, G5, H3, I4



Frederick's Friends...and Enemies

Can you match the following Seven Years' War names to their faces?

- ___ **A.** Pyotr Saltykov
- ___ **B.** Robert Clive
- ___ **C.** Louis-Joseph de Montcalm-Gozon
- ___ **D.** Ernst Gideon von Laudon
- ___ **E.** George Washington
- ___ **F.** András Hadik
- ___ **G.** Hans Joachim von Zieten
- ___ **H.** James Wolfe
- ___ **I.** Leopold Joseph von Daun
- ___ **J.** Ferdinand of Brunswick-Lüneberg

Answers: A9, B8, C3, D1, E6, F5, G2, H4, I10, J7

LEFT: U.S. MARINE CORPS HISTORY DIVISION; 1: HEERESGESCHICHTLICHES MUSEUM; 2: SCHLOSS SANSSOUCI, BELVOIR CASTLE (BRIDGEMAN IMAGES); 3: 5: BILL BROOKS; THE PICTURE ART COLLECTION, ALBUM (ALAMY STOCK PHOTO); 4: BONHAMS; 6: WASHINGTON AND LEE UNIVERSITY; 8: NATIONAL PORTRAIT GALLERY; 10: HAMPEL AUCTIONS

Croatia at War

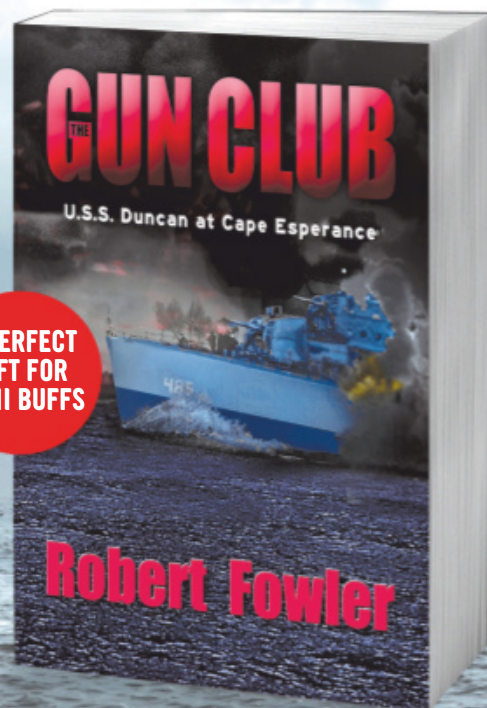
Long-embattled Croatia was only the first state to break away from Yugoslavia.



1. What aspect of Croatia's national flag reminded ethnic Serbs of World War II's fascist Croatia?
A. Ustase U B. Swastika
C. Fases D. Red-and-white "chessboard"
2. What gave the "Log Revolution" its name?
A. Serb barricade of parliament
B. Serb barricade of roads
C. Serb anti-tank obstacles
D. Serb protesters' dwellings
3. A Serbian ambush in what town on May 2, 1991, constituted the first significant act of war in Croatia?
A. Knin B. Borovo Selo
C. Osijek D. Vukovar
4. Which Croatian battle zone attracted world attention for its historic sites rather than its endangered populace?
A. Zagreb B. Ovcara
C. Vukovar D. Dubrovnik
5. How many Serbs have been convicted thus far for murdering 261 Croatian prisoners at Ovcara?
A. Three B. Five
C. 15 D. 20

Answers: D, B, B, D, C

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Robert Fowler is a producer, screenwriter and director, and son of the U.S.S. Duncan's torpedo officer.

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**Leatherneck Magazine*

**HOW MUCH TIME
DID IT TAKE FOR
ABRAHAM LINCOLN
TO DELIVER HIS
GETTYSBURG
ADDRESS?**

14 minutes, 2-3 minutes,
16-17 minutes or 7 minutes?

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ANSWER: 2-3 MINUTES. DELIVERED FOUR AND A HALF MONTHS AFTER THE BATTLE OF GETTYSBURG, LINCOLN'S ICONIC ADDRESS FRAMED THE CIVIL WAR AS NOT A STRUGGLE FOR THE UNION, BUT A STRUGGLE TO PRESERVE THE PRINCIPLES OF HUMAN EQUALITY, AS OUTLINED IN THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE.

Captured!

Bombsnuffers

In July 1940 British factory workers demonstrate the use of a long-handled device intended to smother incendiary bombs dropped by German aircraft—though it looks as though a user would have to get rather close to a burning bomb for the device to be effective.

HULTON DEUTSCH (GETTY IMAGES)



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